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ABSTRACT

This report provides a detailed picture of how youth aged 12 to 20 in three American neighborhoods--Austin (Texas), St. Petersburg (Florida), and Savannah (Georgia)--spend their nonschool time and the amount and level of the basic "vitamins" of support from adults and institutions that they receive. The three neighborhoods are the intensive research sites of Public/Private Ventures' Community Change for Youth Development initiative. These three neighborhoods are not the poorest of American neighborhoods, but they also do not have the assets of a "normal" middle class community. The encouraging news from these three studies is that a great majority of youth in their early teen years in these communities seem to be getting a reasonable dose of support. There is a base of opportunity on which to build additional supports. The discouraging news is how quickly these supports and opportunities decline for youth 15 and older, especially for those over 18. It is particularly disturbing to see the high percentage of young people (40 to 65%) who have never worked in a paid job and never participated in a community service activity. As youth enter their midteens, their opportunities for adult guidance, especially guidance related to education and work, seem to decline. This report does not suggest particular strategies for improving the chances of youth in borderline communities, but it does suggest that the base for providing the "growth vitamins" of support needs to be extended. (Contains 17 tables, 12 figures, and 69 references.) (SLD)

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ED 424 321

# SUPPORT FOR YOUTH

## A Profile of Three Communities

Cynthia L. Sipe
Patricia Ma

with
Michelle Alberti Gambone

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Common sense, buttressed by an increasingly rich body of research evidence, tells us that our children do much better in life if they have caring adult attention, effective schooling, opportunities during nonschool hours to engage in positive activities, and adult assistance in their post-secondary education and employment options.

How much of each of those factors youth need, and the degree to which they substitute for one another, are not known, and in any event are probably not susceptible to formula. As our society and economy become increasingly complex, technically demanding and globally competitive, however, it seems obvious that our children will perform better in their adulthood as citizens, family members and workers if we strive to ensure a basic threshold level of these necessary "growth vitamins."

Over the past two decades, Americans have rightly paid an enormous amount of attention to public schools, for they have much to do with providing that threshold. Over the past decade an increasing amount of attention has been given to the role of nonschool hours as an avenue for providing many of these basic supports and opportunities—not so much as an alternative to school, but as an acknowledgment of how large and important nonschool time is in youth development.

This report provides a detailed picture of how youth ages 12 to 20 in three American neighborhoods—Austin, Texas; St. Petersburg, Florida; and Savannah, Georgia—spend their nonschool time, and the amount and level of these basic "vitamins" they are provided by the adults and institutions they interact with (including the schools). It is a snapshot of these factors during mid- to late 1996.

These three neighborhoods are the intensive research sites in P/PV's Community Change for Youth Development (CCYD) initiative. CCYD's basic goal is to increase these basic "vitamins" in youth's lives by a more focused use of existing public, private and volunteer resources, and by occasional and focused increase in those resources. The picture that this report portrays is the state of these neighborhoods and their children before the CCYD initiative began.

These three neighborhoods are not the very poorest of American neighborhoods, are not without basic institutions like churches and stores, and are not dominated by non-working adults and single-parent families. In short, they are not without assets. They are also not with anywhere near the assets of anyone's vision of a "normal" middle-class neighborhood. They are poor; unemployment and crime are higher than in the surrounding larger communities; school performance is lower. There are many neighborhoods like them across America, neither hopeless nor comforting to the observer focused on how children fare. And therein lies their instructiveness, both about the status of many of America's children vis-a-vis these vitamins, and the potential to increase them.

The encouraging news in this report is that the great majority of youth in their early teen years in these neighborhoods seem to be getting a reasonable dose—whether enough is not yet clear, but clearly they are not without supports and opportunities. There is a base of assets, individual and institutional, on which to build the additional supports and opportunities which younger adolescents need to maximize their chances for a successful life as a youth and as an adult.

The further good news is that those youth with greater doses of all the basic vitamins do better in school, have a higher sense of their own effectiveness, and engage in less risk activity. Common sense is confirmed. We know what to do to increase youthful success, and we have a base on which to build—for most of the youth.

The discouraging news is how rapidly these supports and opportunities decline for youth 15 and older, and even more so for those 18 and older. Among youth 18 and older a disturbingly high share of youth in these moderately poor neighborhoods—from 15 to 25 percent—are not engaged in any positive structured activities, have no or very few adults in their lives, and are not working.

It is particularly disturbing to see the high percentage of young people—from about 40 to 65 percent—who have never worked in a paid job, and never participated in a community service activity. In an economy where it is increasingly difficult to "make up" for critical losses in opportunity, learning and career progress, this number represents a potentially substantial loss and liability from any perspective—social, economic or individual.

As youth enter their mid-teens, their opportunities for adult guidance, especially of an instrumental nature relating to education and work, and their participation in structured activities that provide opportunity for positive social engagement and service, seem to decline drastically. Part of this is due to the lack of school involvement by older teens. But it also appears that the nonschool adult and institutional capacity to engage older youth and provide critical supports and opportunities dwindles as youth enter the crucial years where they are expected (and expect to) start thinking about and planning for jobs, careers and families. These youth are left to their own devices much too early, in a very challenging world.

The glimmer of light in this discouraging picture is that neither its cause nor its cure appears to lie solely in the private realm of family relationships, where both social policy and locally based initiatives are at best clumsy instruments of change. The vast majority of the youth in these moderately poor neighborhoods felt that they received substantial support and guidance from their families during the entire course of their teen years. But the non-family support they received typically declined as they hit the mid-teen years and beyond. The decrease seems especially significant in the area of instrumental support (in contrast to emotional support), since the need for instrumental guidance from adults and institutions is especially critical in the mid- and later-teen years. In these three neighborhoods, that support declined.

We know from other studies that it is the mid-teen years and up where young people quit attending places and programs like Boys and Girls Clubs, Police Athletic League, Ys and Big Brothers

Big Sisters; where schools have cut nonschool hour activities; where the activities left, like sports, attract those who do very well at them, but are not aimed to help in the development of youth who might be interested but not excel. We know that the existence of institutions helping guide the transition from high school to further education and work are weak or non-existent across American society—especially in poor communities, where they are most needed because their families simply cannot provide that assistance. In short, unlike for younger youth, there does not appear to be a strong base of institutional or volunteer support for mid- and older teens in these communities.

One hopeful sign is that the youth themselves are receptive to more guidance and assistance—and are willing to provide service in return. Many simply do not see much opportunity for either.

The statistical snapshot this report provides does not prescribe any particular strategies for improving the chances of the many American youth living in borderline communities. It does suggest that the base for extending the threshold dose of "growth vitamins" to younger teens is there, and needs continued nourishment and encouragement. We cannot afford to be sanguine about the supports and opportunities available to that age group, but we can move forward with confidence. The report's portrait also suggests that the public, private and philanthropic sectors need to focus their imagination on new ways to engage the energy and commitment of older youth, and to support their ordinary desires for the guidance and opportunities necessary to shape a good life.

# I. INTRODUCTION

During the 1970s and 1980s most youth programming consisted of short-term interventions aimed at fixing the specific problems of a small target group of adolescents—substance abuse prevention programs, adolescent pregnancy prevention programs, dropout prevention programs, etc. While some of these programs had impressive short-term effects (Sipe et al. 1988; 1987), none resulted in long-term improvements (Grossman and Sipe 1992; Walker and Vilella-Velez, 1992). We concluded that the very nature of these programs—which were of short duration and deficit-oriented—were unlikely to yield enduring changes in youth's lives. The failure of these programs led many in the field to begin revising their thinking about the best ways to assist troubled youth (Gambone, 1993) and to focus more attention on the urban neighborhoods where many of these youth were being raised.

Low-income neighborhoods are increasingly characterized by the prevalence of gangs and substance abuse, and of the lack of working adults to serve as positive supports and role models for adolescents (National Research Council, 1993; Jencks and Mayer, 1990). Increasingly, youth are becoming adults without the physical safety, basic supports and access to opportunities that most Americans take for granted. The Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development (1992) concluded that youth from low-income families are those most lacking in these supports: "They are the most likely to attend inadequate schools, the most likely to face physical danger in their daily lives, the most likely to spend large amounts of time without adult supervision, and . . . the least likely to have access to the supports that youth development organizations can offer to them during the nonschool hours."

At the same time that researchers, program operators and policy experts were pondering what direction to take, evidence was mounting about the importance of certain supports and opportunities for healthy youth development. Studies of risk and resiliency (Werner and Smith, 1992; Cowen and Work, 1988; Rutter, 1987; Garmezy, 1985; Werner and Smith, 1982) have indicated the importance of key adult figures in adolescents' lives. Evaluations of mentoring programs have shown that youth with positive adult support performed better in school and were less likely to engage in risk behaviors (e.g., alcohol and drug use, physical violence) (Tierney and Grossman, 1996). And studies of how kids spend their free time indicate that youth with structured activities after school (the time period when the incidence of delinquent behavior peaks) engaged in fewer risk behaviors than those who did not (Zill et al., 1995; Medrich, 1991; Freeman, 1986).

This promising evidence led P/PV to attempt an alternative approach to working with disadvantaged youth—the Community Change for Youth Development (CCYD) demonstration. CCYD is about changing communities for a very specific purpose—youth development. It is about changing the environment in which poor youth grow up and develop. CCYD was designed to help impoverished neighborhoods become places that foster positive development—to change these neighborhoods from places with limited opportunities into ones that are infused with choices, opportunities and supports for the teenagers who reside there.

The first report on CCYD—*Launching a Resident-Driven Initiative* (Gambone, 1997)—focused on the early stages of the community change process. This report focuses on the youth in these communities at the time the initiative began. How do they spend their time; who provides them with support; what experiences have they had? Are the assumptions that policymakers and others make accurate—that kids growing up in poor urban neighborhoods lack supports and opportunities; that these youth engage in high-risk behaviors? Little objective information exists on how working-class and poor adolescents in a variety of urban settings spend their time and what their lives are like at home and school. Although youth in low-income communities may have greater rates of delinquent behavior compared with youth in more affluent communities, any given community is likely to include youth with a wide range of experiences and opportunities. What are those experiences? What opportunities are available to youth? And how do experiences and opportunities vary for youth of different ages? By examining these questions for youth in three of the CCYD neighborhoods, this report provides a glimpse into the lives of these youth.

Before we turn to a description of the neighborhoods and the youth who live there, however, we describe CCYD, its underlying theory and the overall research design.

## WHAT IS COMMUNITY CHANGE FOR YOUTH DEVELOPMENT?

CCYD was designed to help relatively poor urban communities develop in ways that would foster the positive development of at-risk youth as they traverse the rocky ground of adolescence into early adulthood. Toward that end, P/PV developed a framework of five "core concepts" that communities can use to begin building the supports and opportunities necessary for the healthy development of all adolescents.

These five areas obviously do not cover every need that youth have as they develop into adults. They do represent areas that our review of the literature and past experience suggest are necessary, if not sufficient, for healthy development. We also believe they are areas in which communities can develop new activities and experiences for youth that are often missing in the lives of many youth living in at-risk environments. These five core concepts—derived from a review of prior research, evaluations of youth programs and theories of adolescent development—are:

**Adult support and guidance**—increasing the number of adults in a neighborhood who know and interact with youth on a regular basis. All young people need adults in their lives who know and care about what they do and who can provide assistance, guidance and emotional support. Youth who have supportive adults in their lives have lower levels of stress, make better decisions and experience better academic achievement. And young people who grow up in environments where family members, neighbors, local professionals and others monitor their activities are more likely to attend school regularly, exhibit fewer behavior problems and engage in less violence.

**Gap activities**—increasing the number of positive activities available and accessible to youth during nonschool hours. When youth are provided with safe and healthy activities in which to participate during summers, weekends and after-school hours, they are less likely to have the time

to participate in the high-risk, unhealthy activities that can delay or derail positive development. When youth are provided with choices of activities that are attractive to them, that are easily accessible and affordable and that involve peers whom they value, they are more likely to participate. As a result, they are less likely to be involved in vandalism, drug use and other risk behaviors, and are more likely to perform well in school.

**Work as a developmental tool**—increasing the number and variety of work experience opportunities while ensuring the connections between school and work. As youth move through adolescence and begin to anticipate and prepare for their adult roles, many are motivated to get part-time jobs. Work experience can support positive development in several ways. Adolescents who work a moderate number of hours in jobs that allow them to use skills they have, develop new skills and receive support and guidance from supervisors and co-workers tend to develop better employability skills, have higher postsecondary school enrollment, better career awareness and knowledge, and ultimately higher wage and employment rates. And when school and work are mutually supportive, youth tend to develop better self-esteem and a greater sense of competence.

**Youth involvement**—increasing opportunities for young people in the neighborhood to be involved in shaping their own environment. As youth make decisions and choices through participating in decision-making, taking on responsibility for planning and carrying out group activities and taking on leadership roles, they learn to take others into account. When youth participate in cooperative learning and working environments, experience democratic leadership and feel their opinions are respected by adults, they are more likely to see things from the perspective of others. These experiences lead to a greater sense of responsibility, greater interest in school and better academic performance, higher self-esteem and lower levels of delinquency and gang involvement.

**Support through transitions**—increasing the support youth receive as they move through critical transitions, such as from middle school to high school and from school to work. Adolescence encompasses many changes and transitions, ranging from the physical (e.g., puberty) to the social (e.g., peer groups, dating, parenting) to the institutional (e.g., junior high school, high school, work, college). These new experiences present opportunities for growth, but only if youth receive adequate support as they make the adjustments necessary to succeed in each new role or institution. As young people move to different schools, establish new peer groups and move into jobs, the kind of preparation they receive, how the transition occurs and the supports in place that facilitate their growth into new roles are key factors in whether transitions are made successfully.

Thus, CCYD's premise is that communities can mobilize around the five core concepts to increase the number of supports and opportunities available to youth. As opportunities increase, the actual experiences of youth in these areas will also change in positive ways. They will experience greater support, participate in more activities, become involved in decision-making and have more work experiences. This increase in positive experiences will ultimately yield such positive outcomes as higher high school graduation rates, increased college enrollment, better paying jobs and

a reduction in negative activities such as substance abuse, involvement with the criminal justice system and early pregnancies.

In addition to the core concepts, we also posited that certain processes—or critical components—are necessary if communities are to infuse their neighborhoods with these supports and opportunities. These critical components are: (1) an understanding of the core concepts and their embodiment in activities being implemented; (2) the development of resources for implementing new activities and providing new opportunities, (3) involvement of residents—both adults and youth—in the decision-making process; (4) local leadership (beyond the immediate neighborhood) that is supportive of the change process; (5) development of an effective governance structure that includes having neighborhood residents and the lead agency work in concert; and (6) the effective application of available resources and appropriate use of technical assistance.

## THE RESEARCH DESIGN AND THE YOUTH SURVEY

One of the greatest challenges in designing the CCYD research arose from the complexity of the changes being attempted and the long-term nature of the effort. At the same time, the nature of the CCYD initiative, which seeks to bring about changes not just for individuals participating in a program, but at the community level, presents special difficulties for analysis.

CCYD, like other community change efforts, offers no standard program model to assess, no definitive terms of participation in an intervention and no defined population (beyond adolescents) to study. We could not use a controlled experiment for the evaluation because youth could not be randomly assigned to live in specific communities. We could not use comparison group strategies because CCYD aims to benefit all youth residing in the target neighborhoods, not a small subset that could be compared to a similar, but unaffected group living in the same neighborhood.

Instead, we developed a research model for studying community change empirically. The model has three major parts:

- Measuring the critical components of community change that we hypothesize are necessary for the successful planning and implementation of CCYD;
- Measuring whether these critical components, in fact, lead to an increase in the developmental supports and opportunities (the core concepts) available to young people in the community; and
- Measuring whether an increase in these developmental resources at the community level leads to an increase of these resources in the lives of individual youth in the community.

The Process and Implementation Studies

Testing the critical components of community change required, first, documenting the process of site selection, planning and implementation to provide an understanding of what it takes for communities to mobilize and begin to develop a social infrastructure that can support youth development. This part of the research is primarily qualitative, utilizing data gathered by on-site researchers and through periodic site visits by P/PV staff, who conduct interviews with staff and residents, observe meetings and review documents produced as part of the initiative. We began collecting information for this **process study** during the planning phase of the initiative and the results were reported in *Launching a Resident-Driven Initiative* published in Spring 1997.

In order to link the critical components of community change with actual increases in the developmental supports available to youth in these communities, the research must provide an accounting of the type and quality of activities and resources built in each core concept area. The goals of the **implementation study** are to document changes in the number and quality of activities available for youth in each core concept area.

Baseline data for the implementation study were collected on: (1) the communities' physical, social and economic characteristics; (2) the communities' institutional and organizational assets and liabilities; and (3) youth's perceptions of the community (e.g., safety, barriers to participation, etc.). Much of these data were collected by mapping community resources, a process that drew on census data, neighborhood windshield surveys, informant interviews and reference materials. The data collected include information on neighborhood facilities and services (e.g., health clinics, libraries, parks, churches), neighborhood problems (e.g., lighting, vacant lots, graffiti) and physical characteristics (e.g., open spaces, rivers, highways). Descriptions of the neighborhoods resulting from the community mapping are provided in Chapter II.

Data to measure both the critical components of change (process) and the increase in developmental supports (implementation) are being collected during periodic site visits by P/PV staff and through the ongoing efforts of the on-site researchers, working half-time during the first two years of the initiative. On-site researchers are responsible for identifying new activities that start, documenting the number of youth involved and assessing the quality of the activities.

The Short-Term Outcomes Study

In the short term, the best way to judge the success of CCYD is to measure whether the positive supports and opportunities in youth's lives increase as the number of CCYD activities increase. Thus, the **short-term outcomes study** was designed to measure these developmental outcomes after about three years of implementation.

The **youth survey** that is the primary focus of this report provides baseline information that will eventually enable us to determine whether youth experience an increase in supports and opportunities in the five core concept areas as CCYD is implemented. Examples of the short-term out-

comes we are tracking include the number of adults youth have available for support, the number of opportunities for leadership present for young people, the proportion of time spent in positive activities versus idle time, the number of risk behaviors engaged in by youth, the number and variation of work experiences, etc.

Shortly after the three communities—in Austin, St. Petersburg and Savannah—were selected as implementation and research sites for the demonstration, interviews were conducted with youth in the target age range of 12 to 20 in each community. These in-person interviews with youth began in February 1996, as sites were beginning their first year of implementation (see Appendix A for details about the sampling strategy and survey administration). The survey components include:

- Basic demographics (e.g., age, gender, race, household size and composition);
- Items measuring the level of developmental resources in the lives of individual youth in each of the five core concept areas (e.g., adult social support, opportunities for leadership and responsibility in programmatic activities, work and community service experiences, availability of transition support);
- Time use patterns;
- Perceptions of neighborhood safety; and
- Traditional indicators of positive development (e.g., academic performance, sense of efficacy, lack of involvement in risk behaviors).

The first follow-up survey will be conducted at a point when there has been enough change at the community level to warrant an examination of the short-term individual level outcomes (most likely following three years of implementation). This follow-up survey will assess changes in the magnitude of developmental resources in youth's lives in neighborhoods where CCYD has been fully implemented.

## ORGANIZATION OF THIS REPORT

The remainder of the report provides a picture of the three CCYD neighborhoods and the youth who reside there. Drawing on information collected as part of the community resource mapping, Chapter II describes each of these communities—where they are located, demographic information about the residents, resources available in each community and youth's perceptions of these neighborhoods. Chapters III through VII provide a discussion of youth's experiences related to each of the five core concepts and the connection between involvement in core concept activities and outcomes. Drawing on data collected as part of the youth survey, the discussion begins with a presentation of youth's involvement in activities during gap periods and how they use their free time (Chapter III). We then present data on work experiences (Chapter IV) followed by a discussion of support through critical transitions (Chapter V). The adult support available to these

youth is discussed in Chapter VI followed by a discussion of their involvement in leadership activities and relationships with their peers in Chapter VII.

The final chapter discusses the confluence of youth's core concept-related experiences and provides a summary of our findings and their implications.

KEY FINDINGS

- Younger youth tend to be more involved in structured gap activities, have more leadership experiences and receive more adult support and guidance than do older youth.

- Youth who are more involved in these activities and who have more adult support tend to have higher self-efficacy and better grades, and be somewhat less involved in risky behavior.

- Receiving support from adults at school and at youth organizations appears to be particularly important in preventing involvement in risk activity.

- There are small, but significant, groups of youth in each neighborhood who are relatively disconnected—with little or no participation in structured gap activities, no leadership experiences and limited adult support.

- The number of youth who are disconnected increases as youth get older. This drop-off in supports and opportunities that are available to older youth occurs simultaneously with an increase in negative activities, suggesting that older adolescents are a crucial group for communities to target when developing new activities in these neighborhoods.

These findings are important for communities to consider as they develop new activities and strategies for increasing supports available to the youth in their neighborhoods.

## II. CCYD NEIGHBORHOOD CONTEXT

Since the intent of CCYD is to test the feasibility of increasing developmental supports and opportunities for all adolescents in a community within a short time period, a defined geographic area of manageable size was considered necessary in order to reach "saturation" of the neighborhood within the time frame of the demonstration (Gambone, 1997). Hence CCYD efforts are focused on a specific neighborhood in each city. In Austin, the CCYD neighborhood is located in South Central East Austin, but is usually referred to as East Austin; in St. Petersburg, the initiative takes place in Childs Park; and in Savannah, four Census tracts, known as Area C, is the CCYD neighborhood.

In addition to providing focus for the CCYD strategy, a neighborhood has other characteristics that make it a logical "unit of action" (Chaskin, 1995) for the initiative. A neighborhood is often differentiated by its physical boundaries and landscape, its name and historical development, the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of its residents, and its institutions—business, social, educational and religious. While different populations within a neighborhood use and experience the area differently, a neighborhood, especially in the urban context, is also considered a primary unit of actual and potential solidarity and social cohesion.

CCYD aims to utilize, strengthen and expand on actual and potential neighborhood strengths to improve the current lives and future prospects of the area's youth. In undertaking a neighborhood-based initiative like CCYD, however, it is important to understand what aspects of neighborhoods may positively and negatively affect both adult and youth residents, and by what means. Overall, research on neighborhoods is nascent, but there is some evidence suggesting which neighborhood dimensions matter most for youth (and adults).

### NEIGHBORHOOD DIMENSIONS

Social demographics, economic opportunities, institutional capacities and physical environment are key neighborhood dimensions that social science research has hypothesized as affecting youth outcomes of economic self-sufficiency, citizenship, and healthy family and social relationships (Connell et al., 1995). The relationships among these dimensions are complex—some influence youth outcomes directly, while most others are indirectly linked—and taken together, they provide a good representation of the conditions of a community.

#### Social Demographics

A broad array of demographic characteristics has been linked to problematic youth outcomes. Researchers have discussed the concentration of poor, female-headed families and the probable lack of adult supervision and monitoring (Brooks-Gunn et al., 1993); the absence of middle-class or high status professionals and the probable lack of positive role models and institutional resources (Crane, 1991); and male joblessness and its probable undermining of rational planning for

families and youth (Wilson, 1991; 1987). Studies based on social disorganization theory have found that areas with high rates of deviant and violent behavior are often also characterized by low economic status, ethnic heterogeneity, residential instability and lack of social cohesion among neighbors (Sampson and Groves, 1989; Sampson, 1992). Coulton and Pandey (1992) have argued that population density and age and gender segregation in poor neighborhoods create extreme child care burdens for some communities.

Economic Opportunity Structure

Economic opportunity structures within communities affect youth directly and indirectly through their effect on adults in the community. Industrial composition, the location of jobs, and the overall demand for labor all help define this opportunity structure. The deterioration of employment of inner-city residents has been linked to each characteristic. For example, the decline in the manufacturing sector in general and its relocation out of cities to suburban industrial parks are often mentioned as important determinants of inner-city unemployment (Wilson, 1987).

While teenage labor market experience itself has little effect on future employment rates, it does help youth accumulate work experience that employers reward through higher wages (Ellwood, 1982; Corcoran, 1982). Thus, a lack of the opportunity to work disadvantages youth in communities with poor economic structures.

Institutional Capacities

Most poor communities—communities with high concentrations of poor, single-parent families and jobless males, and low concentrations of well-educated, professional and managerial workers—do not usually command the economic or political resources necessary to develop and sustain high-quality institutions and organizations that support healthy youth development (Connell et al., 1995). For example, funding of public schools is, in most states, based primarily on local tax revenues. Likewise, the institutions that provide "primary services" to youth—the Little Leagues, YMCAs and so on—are typically scarce in poorer neighborhoods. This dearth of institutional capacity, along with that of the schools means that youth often are without attractive, organized and positive activities for most of their nonschool hours.

Physical Environment

What a neighborhood looks like can have profound implications for residents' commitment and willingness to engage in activities such as those that CCYD hopes to promote. Physical features of a neighborhood such as the boundaries and street design, the building types and condition, land use and incivilities can either facilitate or act as barriers to informal interaction among neighborhood residents (Perkins et al., 1990; Greenberg et al., 1982).

Research also has shown that some dimensions of the physical environment, such as the relative proportion of residential property and vacant land; the physical upkeep of exteriors; barriers like

fences, walls, security bars; and the amount of "incivilities" like graffiti and vandalism, are linked, directly and indirectly, to social interaction and informal surveillance among neighbors, as well as to neighborhood crime (Perkins et. al., 1990; Greenberg et. al., 1982).

## CCYD NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILES

To better understand the community conditions that may affect outcomes for youth in the CCYD areas, we developed detailed profiles of each area.

### East Austin

**Overall Demographics.** As Table 1 indicates, about 8,500 residents, or 2 percent of the overall city's population, lived in the CCYD area in East Austin in 1990. The neighborhood's Hispanic composition of 89 percent is almost four times the city's. CCYD residents are more than twice as poor as residents in the overall city, and live in larger households that are more likely to be headed by females, and more likely to receive public assistance.

A major factor preventing residents in the CCYD area from participating more in the high-wage technology boom of the Austin metropolitan area is their low educational levels. Among CCYD residents who are 18 years and older, 66 percent have less than a high school education, and only 5 percent are college graduates. By contrast, only 17 percent of the city's population did not complete high school, and almost 29 percent graduated from college.

As Table 1 also shows, CCYD residents in East Austin have a harder time finding work, and when they do find work, they are much more likely to hold jobs in lower-paying occupations in services, manufacturing and general labor. The CCYD area's unemployment rate of 5.8 percent in 1990 was higher than in the city, where more people worked in professional and managerial, sales and technical, and clerical and administrative positions.

**Youth Demographics.** The CCYD baseline survey, conducted in early 1996, provides more recent information on youth in the neighborhoods. Based on the survey's census of households, there are about 800 youth between the ages of 12 and 20 in the East Austin CCYD area.

Table 2 reveals that of the 643 youth in East Austin who completed the baseline survey, about half are male, and about a third are in the 12 to 14 (38%) and 15 to 17 (34%) age groups, while 28 percent are between the ages of 18 and 20. Virtually all the youth (95%) are of Hispanic origin, with Mexicans or Mexican-Americans predominating. Only 15 percent of youth were born outside the U.S., but 67 percent could converse in a language other than English (mostly Spanish).

While 76 percent of these youth were enrolled in school or college at the time of the survey, over a quarter (28%) had dropped out of school at least once, mirroring national dropout rates among Hispanic youth. Of the youth <u>not</u> in school, about 33 percent have either a GED or high school

Table 1

## 1990 DEMOGRAPHICS FOR CCYD CITY AND TARGET AREA

| | AUSTIN | | ST. PETERSBURG | | SAVANNAH | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | CCYD Area | Overall City | CCYD Area | Overall City | CCYD Area | Overall City |
| **Population** | 8,504 | 465,622 | 13,672 | 238,629 | 11,168 | 137,560 |
| **Race/Ethnicity (%):** | | | | | | |
| **White** | 8 | 71 | 23 | 78 | 5 | 47 |
| **Black** | 2 | 12 | 72 | 20 | 94 | 51 |
| **Hispanic** | 89 | 23 | 2 | 3 | <1 | 1 |
| **Median Age** | 29 | 29 | 29 | 39 | 30 | 32 |
| **Poverty Rate (%)** | 40 | 18 | 23 | 14 | 35 | 23 |
| **Education (%):** | | | | | | |
| **Less than high school** | 66 | 17 | 39 | 26 | 43 | 29 |
| **High school graduate** | 29 | 54 | 54 | 57 | 49 | 56 |
| **College graduate** | 5 | 29 | 7 | 17 | 8 | 15 |
| **Employment (%):** | | | | | | |
| **In labor force** | 66 | 49 | 61 | 56 | 56 | 53 |
| **Unemployed** | 4.5 | 5.8 | 5.4 | 3.1 | 7.3 | 4.8 |
| **Occupations (%):** | | | | | | |
| **Professional, managerial** | 11 | 34 | 15 | 27 | 15 | 23 |
| **Sales, technical** | 10 | 17 | 12 | 18 | 12 | 17 |
| **Clerical** | 15 | 18 | 14 | 17 | 11 | 16 |
| **Services** | 27 | 14 | 27 | 16 | 30 | 19 |
| **Machine operators, production** | 22 | 11 | 18 | 15 | 15 | 15 |
| **General Laborer** | 8 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 9 | 5 |
| **Other** | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Table 2

1996 YOUTH BASELINE DEMOGRAPHICS FOR CCYD TARGET AREA

| | AUSTIN | ST. PETERSBURG | SAVANNAH |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Sample size** | 643 | 1,001 | 860 |
| **Race/Ethnicity (%):** | | | |
| **White** | 1 | 6 | 1 |
| **Black** | 3 | 90 | 97 |
| **Hispanic** | 95 | 2 | 1 |
| **Age Group (%):** | | | |
| **12-14** | 38 | 40 | 33 |
| **15-17** | 34 | 38 | 37 |
| **18-20** | 28 | 22 | 30 |
| **Education (%):** | | | |
| **In School** | 76 | 87 | 82 |
| **Ever Dropped Out** | 28 | 10 | 10 |
| **Average Household Size:** | 6.1 | 4.6 | 4.6 |
| **Family Structure (%):** | | | |
| **One-parent** | 25 | 44 | 50 |
| **Two-parents** | 58 | 46 | 36 |
| **Public Assistance (% Yes):** | 40 | 44 | 53 |

diploma. Thus, almost 20 percent of all CCYD area youth are neither in school nor have a degree.

The youth in the survey come from households with an average of six people, and more than half (58%) live with both parents. The median annual household income of these youth is $17,299, and 40 percent receive some type of public assistance, with Food Stamps and Medicaid benefits being the most common.

**Youth Risk Behaviors.** Overall, substantial percentages of East Austin youth report having engaged in various risk behaviors as indicated in Figures 1 to 4, and participation in virtually all these behaviors increases with age. For example, while over half (55%) of all youth report having drunk alcohol, consumption increases significantly with age as about a third (31%) of 12- to 14-year-old youth and almost three-quarters (73%) of 18- to 20-year-old youth indicated they have drunk alcohol. Marijuana use also accelerates with age; about a quarter (26%) of 12- to 14-year-old youth and almost half of older youth reported having smoked marijuana. A small, but significant, percentage (12%) of these youth also indicate having used other drugs besides marijuana and alcohol.

Gangs appear to have a strong presence in the CCYD area as 67 percent of youth report that their neighborhood has many gangs, and even more youth (73%) say they know people in gangs. Only 5 percent of youth, however, admit being involved in a gang. While 43 percent of all youth have been stopped by the police, about two-thirds of older male youth report that they have been stopped, and over 40 percent have been arrested.

Nearly half (48%) of these youth have had sexual intercourse, with 16 percent of 12- to 14-year-old youth, more than half (54%) of 15- to 17-year-olds, and 85 percent of 18- to 20-year-old youth being sexually experienced. In all age groups, more males are sexually experienced. Of all youth, a lower percentage of females (27%) and males (14%) have gotten pregnant or been responsible for a pregnancy, but among 18- to 20-year-old youth, well over half of females (61%) have been pregnant, and almost a third (31%) of males have gotten someone pregnant. About 14 percent of all youth in the East Austin CCYD area have children.

**Neighborhood Physical Characteristics.** The main source of data to describe the CCYD neighborhoods comes from mapping visits made to each site in 1995. With assistance from a local resident, we systematically recorded major physical features in the neighborhood, such as the boundaries and street design, building types and condition, and institutional and other community resources. This section describes the Austin neighborhood using information gleaned from the mapping visit.

The CCYD East Austin neighborhood is a one and a half square mile area that is separated from Austin's downtown district by a major interstate road on the east side. Two-thirds of the neighborhood's northern boundary is a busy commercial strip, while the remaining third is a street that is an unofficial demarcation line between the Hispanic and African-American areas of East Austin,

Figure 1

## PERCENTAGE OF YOUTH WHO HAVE USED DRUGS AND ALCOHOL

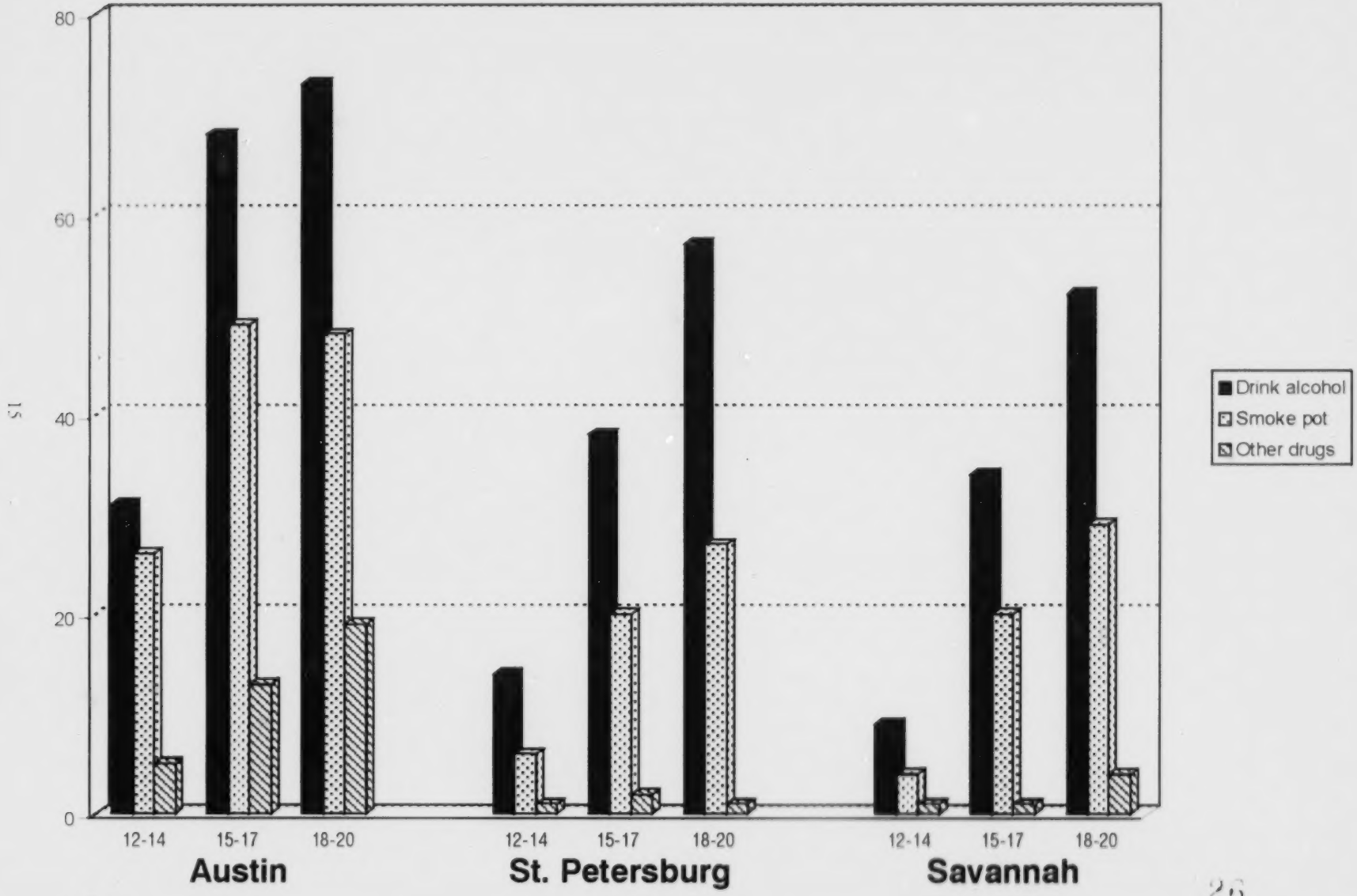


Figure 2

## PERCENTAGE OF YOUTH WHO HAVE HAD CRIMINAL ENCOUNTERS

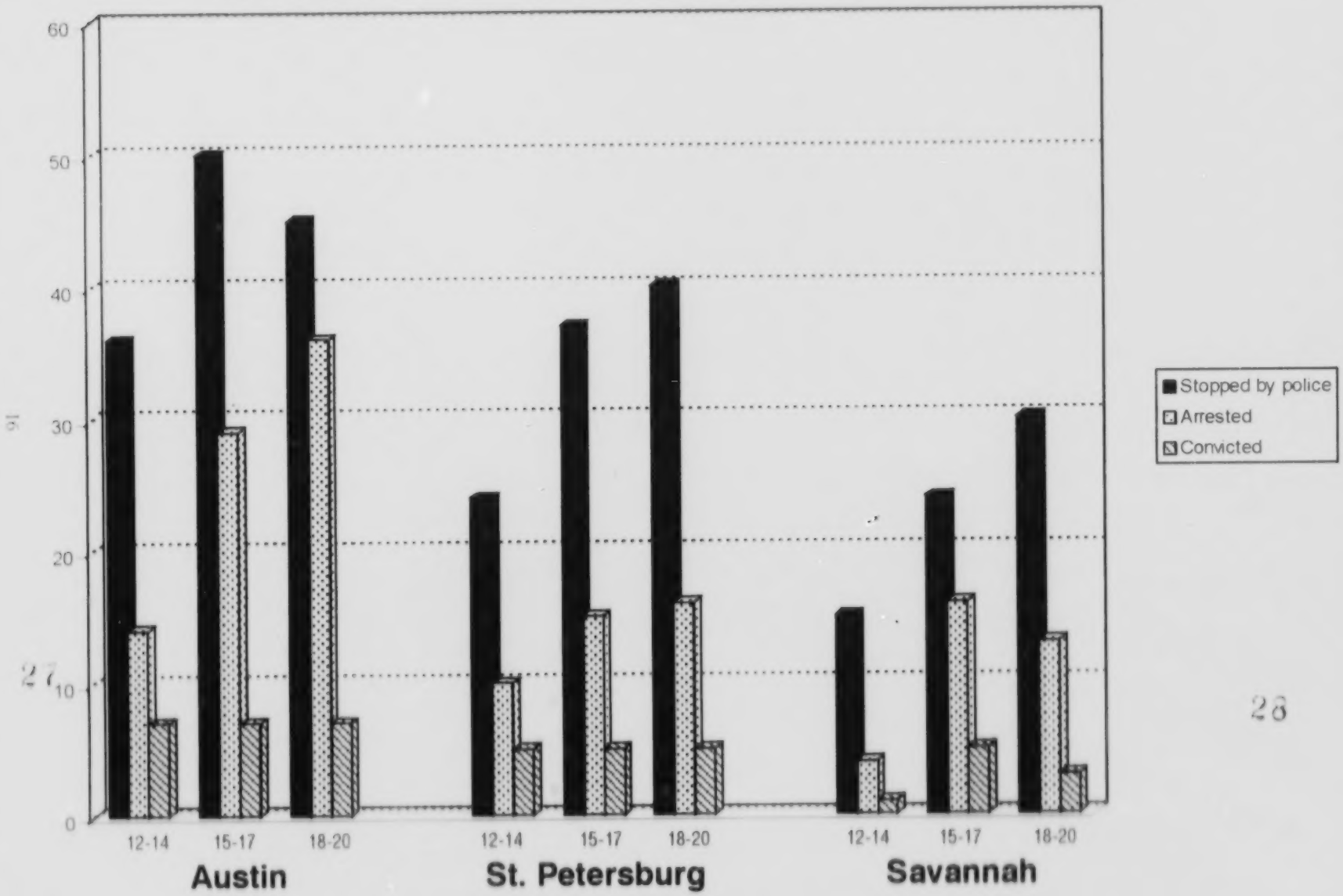


Figure 3

## PERCENTAGE OF YOUTH WITH KNOWLEDGE OF OR INVOLVEMENT IN GANGS

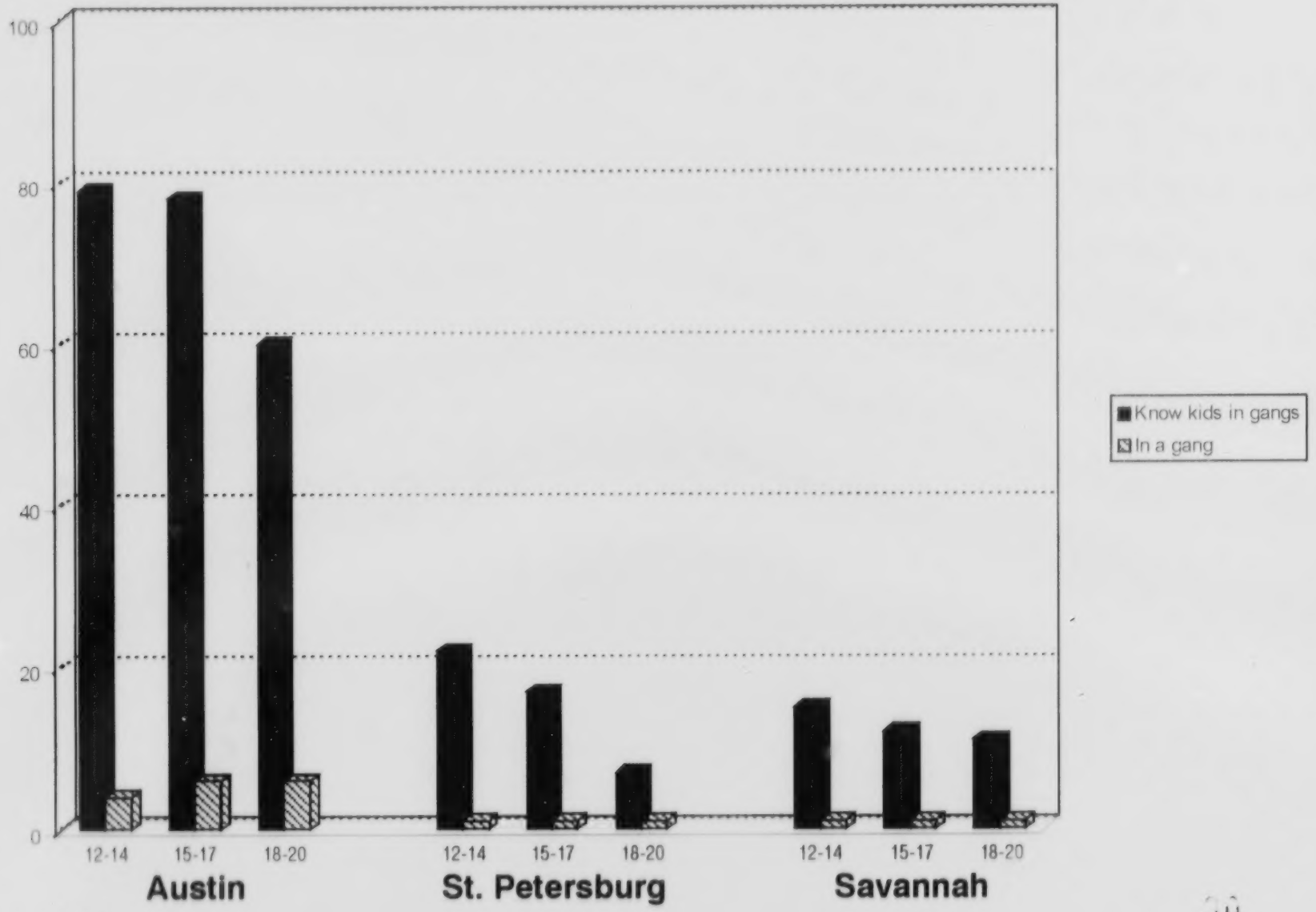
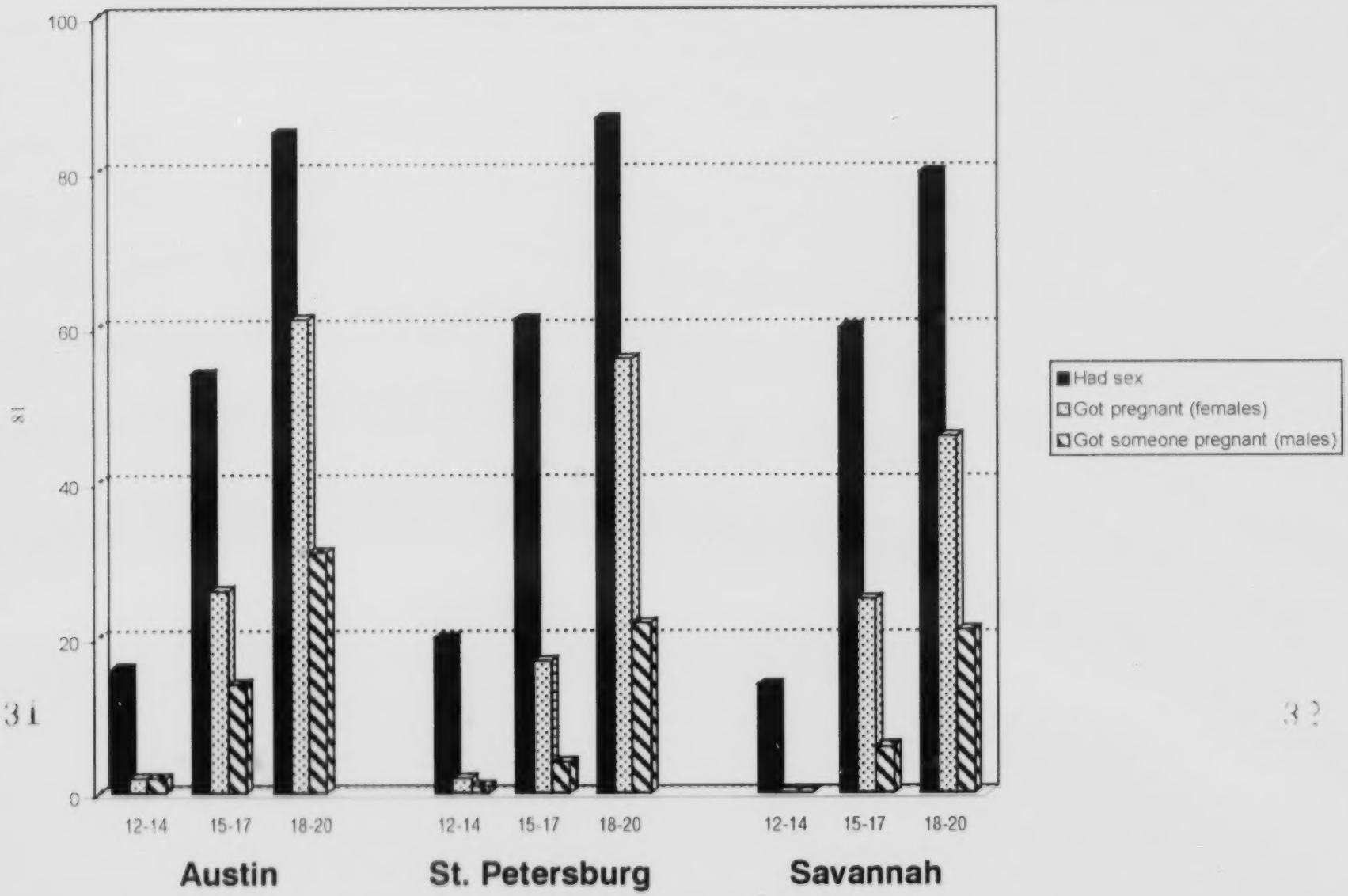


Figure 4

## PERCENTAGE OF YOUTH WITH SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND PREGNANCIES



and a gateway to an area undergoing major economic revitalization. The Colorado River, locally known as Town Lake, forms the neighborhood's southern boundary. An interior street, Cesar Chavez Street, informally divides the northern and southern sections of the neighborhood.

Within the CCYD area, most streets are residential and lined with small, single-family, detached houses. The northwest corner of the neighborhood, however, has larger homes and higher household incomes. In addition to two townhouse-style public housing developments (Chalmers Court and Santa Rita Court), there are two low-rise apartment buildings. The condition of the housing stock, overall, appears good.

**Businesses.** In the community mapping, we recorded the number, location and types of businesses to get a sense of the neighborhood's economic health, and to see if residents have relatively easy access to places like grocery stores, banks, drugstores and health care facilities, for basic needs and services. Most businesses and offices in East Austin are small, independent establishments located on the border and major interior streets. There were 153 open businesses; for each closed business, 10 were open.

While the CCYD area is now predominately residential, abandoned railroad tracks running across the northern section suggest that parts of the area once had more industry; a few light industries such as industrial cleaning, recycling, and metal processing remain. As a part of general urban development efforts in East Austin, there are plans to convert this railroad track area into a community plaza that also would be the hub of a new transportation line.

**Youth Resources.** The East Austin CCYD area has several types of educational, recreational and spiritual resources for youth and adult residents. Of the five educational institutions in the neighborhood, three are elementary schools, one is a middle school, and the fifth is a private historically Black college. Most youth attend the neighborhood elementary schools, about 40 percent of middle-school-aged youth attend the neighborhood middle school, and the majority of high schoolers travel to Austin High on the city's west side.

The 15 recreational areas are concentrated in the southern and western sections of the neighborhood, and many include indoor and outdoor facilities for various activities. Along Town Lake, the CCYD area's southern boundary, there are five well-maintained, spacious outdoor areas open to the public for sports, leisure and cultural activities. Immediately north of the neighborhood are Zaragosa Park and the future site of the Rosewood-Zaragosa Center, a huge (perhaps to become the biggest in Austin) recreation center.

The 24 churches are evenly located throughout the neighborhood. A few of these churches have several facilities that offer social services (e.g., child care, meals) and various programs for the community. In the baseline survey, over half (55%) of East Austin youth reported having attended a religious service during the previous month, mostly within the neighborhood.

Other resources in the East Austin neighborhood include a public library, a post office and a fire station.

St. Petersburg

**Overall Demographics.** Childs Park, the CCYD neighborhood in St. Petersburg, had 13,672 residents, or 6 percent of the city's total population, in 1990. The neighborhood's racial composition of 72 percent Black and 23 percent White (see Table 1) is almost completely the opposite of St. Petersburg's. Childs Park's White population is concentrated in two corners of the neighborhood.

Overall, the average Childs Park resident is younger, poorer and has less formal education than the average resident of St. Petersburg. Half of Childs Park residents are 29 years old and younger, while half the city's population is at least 39. Almost a quarter of Childs Park residents live in poverty as well as in a household that receives public assistance, in contrast to a 14 percent poverty rate and 6 percent rate for public assistance receipt in the overall city. Over half the adults in both Childs Park and St. Petersburg graduated high school, but more Childs Park adult residents are high school noncompleters, and fewer graduated from college than did adults in the overall city.

Childs Park residents are more likely to participate in the labor force, perhaps reflecting the region's large retired population, but they are less able to find work than are St. Petersburg residents. The CCYD neighborhood's unemployment rate of 5.4 percent in 1990 was much higher than the city's 3.1 percent. Childs Park residents also are under-represented in executive managerial, professional specialty, and technical occupations and over-represented in services, operations and laborer positions compared to St. Petersburg overall.

**Youth Demographics.** Childs Park's estimated population of 1,250 youth between 12 and 20 years old is the largest among the three full research sites. Table 2 shows that about a thousand neighborhood youth completed the CCYD baseline survey, of which 40 percent were 12- to 14-years-old; 38 percent were 15- to 17-years-old; and 22 percent were 18- to 20-years-old. The majority (90%) of these youth are African American.

Most Childs Park youth (87%) were enrolled in school or college at the time of the survey, and 10 percent had dropped out of school at some point. Of the youth not currently enrolled, about half had either a high school diploma or a GED. Overall, about 7 percent of youth were neither in school nor had a degree.

The average Childs Park youth lives with more than four (4.6) other people, and is about as likely to live with both parents (46%) as with one parent (44%). Half the youth live in a household with an annual income of $22,522 or less, and 44 percent receive some type of public assistance.

**Youth Risk Behaviors.** Participating in risk behaviors is quite prevalent among Childs Park youth—more so among boys than girls, and among older than younger youth. Over half (55%) of Childs Park youth believe neighborhood young people experiment with alcohol and drugs, but—as Figures 1 to 4 reveal—a smaller percentage report having drunk alcohol (32%) or smoked marijuana (16%), and very few youth said they have used other drugs (1%). However, the percentage of youth who report having used alcohol and smoked marijuana more than doubles between the 12 to 14 and 15 to 17 age groups.

Less than 20 percent of youth feel their neighborhood has many gangs (16%) or know any gang members, and almost none (1%) of the Childs Park youth surveyed was in a gang. A third of youth do indicate having been stopped by police, with more than half of the older, male youth saying they have been stopped. Overall, 13 percent of youth have been arrested.

Fully half the youth report having had sexual intercourse. While only 10 percent of 12- to 14-year-old girls and 29 percent of 12- to 14-year-old boys are sexually experienced, more than half (61%) of 15- to 17-year-old youth and 87 percent of 18- to 20-year-old youth were sexually experienced. Of all surveyed youth, 19 percent of females and 6 percent of males have been pregnant or were responsible for a pregnancy, and 8 percent have children. Most of the pregnancies occurred with the oldest age group in which more than half (56%) of females have been pregnant and 22 percent of males got someone pregnant.

**Neighborhood Physical Characteristics.** Childs Park is a rectangular-shaped area of 2.4 square miles located in southern St. Petersburg, and bounded by four major traffic thoroughfares. Most of the area within the border streets is residential, designed in a grid pattern with fairly wide streets. The Pinellas Trail, an abandoned railroad line that has been converted into a 47-mile county hike'n'bike trail, unofficially divides the upper one-third of the neighborhood from the rest. The physical layout of this upper section is more suburban in appearance, with curved streets and a unified development theme. This area is also demographically more White and more affluent then the rest of Childs Park.

The housing stock is primarily small, ranch-style homes with well-kept lawns, although there are some pockets of larger, more lavish homes. There are no public housing developments in the area, and very few apartment buildings. Undeveloped plots of land are often located between houses as well as at the corner or end of a street.

**Businesses.** Three of the four border streets in Childs Park are business districts with a total of 148 open businesses (similar to Austin) that include auto repair shops, fast food restaurants, hair stylists, furniture stores, florists and discount department stores. For each closed business, six were open at the time of the mapping visit. The northern border street also has a number of professional offices such as dentists, accountants, physicians, attorneys. A strip of light industry is located in the center of the neighborhood along the Pinellas Trail.

**Youth Resources.** Four public schools are located in Childs Park: two elementary schools, a high school and a county technical college. Because of school desegregation laws, however, Childs Park youth must travel across Pinellas County to attend school. All middle school youth and 83 percent of high schoolers attend school outside the neighborhood. Consequently, school facilities are infrequently used as community resources in Childs Park.

While open space abounds in Childs Park, there is really only one recreational area with developed outdoor space and an indoor facility. The Childs Park Community Center is located in the center of the neighborhood, below the Pinellas Trail, and provides a variety of recreational activities and some social services such as child care and summer employment. As the recipient of a $100,000 city neighborhood-based revitalization project in 1992, the Community Center and surrounding park area have been the focus of several capital improvement efforts.

Childs Park's 25 churches are located mostly in the southeast corner of the neighborhood, where there are also more youth. Some churches are located in converted stores, but many are free-standing buildings. A few of these churches are known for various services (child care, after-school tutoring) offered to the community. Almost 75 percent of Childs Park youth said they had attended a religious service within the previous month of the baseline survey, but only a quarter of these youth went to a neighborhood church.

Savannah

**Overall Demographics.** Table 1 shows that approximately 11,168 residents, or 8 percent of the City of Savannah's population, live in the predominately African-American (94%) CCYD area. The neighborhood is a subsection of the poorest area in Savannah, arbitrarily named Area C in a 1991 City-sponsored crime study. About a third of the residents in the CCYD area live in poverty, 12 percent higher than all of Savannah. A quarter of the households with children are headed by females, and 20 percent receive public assistance.

Improving educational attainment has been the focus of several initiatives in Area C. Although almost half of CCYD residents have completed high school, a substantial percentage (43%) have not. By contrast, among all Savannah residents, over half graduated high school, and 15 percent completed college.

Slightly more residents in the CCYD area than in overall Savannah are in the labor force, but CCYD residents are more likely to be unemployed. As in East Austin and Childs Park, Savannah CCYD residents are also over-represented in service, operator and laborer jobs and under-represented in professional, managerial, sales and clerical jobs, compared to the rest of Savannah.

**Youth Demographics.** According to the CCYD baseline survey, about 1,120 youth between 12 and 20 years old live in the neighborhood. As shown in Table 2, survey interviews were completed with 860 youth, of whom roughly a third were in each age group, and almost all were African American (97%).

The majority (82%) of these youth are in school or college, and 10 percent have dropped out at some point. Almost all 15- to 17-year-olds (96%) and only 45 percent of 18- to 20-year-olds are enrolled in school. Among those not in school, almost two-thirds already have either a GED or high school diploma. Only a small percentage of youth (6.3%) are neither in school nor have a degree.

Youth in the survey tend to live with four to five other people, and more live with one parent (50%) than with two (38%). The median income for these households is $14,749, the lowest of the three CCYD neighborhoods, and more than half receive some form of public assistance.

**Youth Risk Behaviors.** The general trend of more older youth and more males engaging in risk behaviors observed in the Austin and St. Petersburg CCYD neighborhoods continues in the Savannah CCYD neighborhood. While over half the youth in the survey indicate that neighborhood youth are involved in alcohol and drugs, only a third say that they have drunk alcohol (31%), and fewer have smoked marijuana (18%). Almost none of these youth (1%) report experimenting with other drugs. However, while less than 10 percent of 12- to 14-year-old youth indicate having drunk alcohol and smoking pot, more than half (52%) of 18- to 20-year-olds report they have drunk alcohol, and 29 percent have used marijuana.

There appears to be minimal gang activity in the Savannah CCYD area as few youth feel the neighborhood has many gangs (14%), or know of any youth gang members (13%). Less than a quarter of youth (23%) have been stopped by police, but among older male youth, 44 percent report having been stopped, and 11 percent of all youth have been arrested.

Fully half of all youth in the survey report having had sexual intercourse (see Figure 4). While 6 percent of 12- to 14-year-old girls and 23 percent of 12- to 14-year-old boys indicate that they are sexually experienced, 60 percent of 15- to 17-year-old youth and 80 percent of 18- to 20-year-old youth also report being sexually experienced. Of all the surveyed youth, 22 percent of females and 9 percent of males have been pregnant or been responsible for a pregnancy, and 10 percent have children.

**Neighborhood Physical Characteristics.** In Savannah, CCYD is focused on a one-square mile area sandwiched between the city's famous historic district and new, affluent residential developments. The boundary streets of this four- Census-tract area are quite varied. The northern border is a two-lane, predominately residential street with moderate traffic and a substantial number of buildings that are boarded up or in poor condition. The southern border, called Victory Drive, by contrast, is a wide, four-lane thoroughfare with a landscaped grass median and large antebellum mansions converted into separate apartments. To the east is an unpaved residential street, while the western border is divided into two streets, one that is mostly residential, the other with more businesses.

The community mapping visit revealed that Savannah has the most blocks with homes in poor condition or boarded up. These buildings are concentrated in the northwest section of the neigh-

borhood, where there are also higher poverty rates. There are also more blocks with graffiti tags in Savannah, but compared to many northeast urban areas in the U.S., graffiti in the CCYD communities is virtually non-existent.

**Businesses.** The economic health of Savannah's CCYD area appears to be the poorest of the three sites, with only two businesses open for every one closed. (Recall that same ratio was 10:1 in East Austin and 6:1 in Childs Park.) A total of 49 businesses, mostly on two streets, are open. Most of these businesses are convenience or "leisure" focused (e.g., bars, restaurants, convenience stores, liquor stores), compared to businesses in Austin and Childs Park which are more varied and tend to provide basic needs and services such as groceries, banking and health care.

**Youth Resources.** While there are four schools in the Savannah CCYD area, none are public. These schools include a private art college, a Montessori school, a proprietary school and Christian academy. Although surveyed youth attend a number of different schools, a substantial percentage go to Savannah High (38%) and Hubert Middle School (15%), which are both outside the neighborhood.

What Savannah lacks in the number of schools, it makes up for in the number of churches, 52 that are scattered evenly throughout the CCYD neighborhood. While over two-thirds of youth report in the baseline survey that they had attended a religious service in the past month, less than half of these youth (35%) usually went to a service outside the CCYD area.

Savannah's CCYD area also has a number of indoor and outdoor recreational facilities. Of the eight park areas in the CCYD area, the largest is a city park, located on the southern border street, which houses a stadium for a minor league baseball team, three soccer fields, two baseball diamonds, three playgrounds, a volleyball court, a swimming pool, two half-court basketball courts and tennis courts. There are also two community centers in the CCYD area.

## YOUTH'S PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD

In the baseline survey we asked several questions about what youth think of different aspects of their neighborhood, including crime and safety, neighborhood problems, and interaction among neighbors. These questions help to generally understand youth's perceptions of the neighborhood and to facilitate the implementation of CCYD in terms of the focus, timing and location of developmental supports and opportunities.

### Crime and Safety

Although the majority of youth (over 60%) in all three sites indicate their neighborhood has some crime, East Austin youth are much more likely to worry about crimes occurring in the neighborhood. As Table 3 reveals, over half of East Austin youth worry about break-ins and beatings, compared to around a third of youth in both Childs Park and Savannah. Overall, younger youth and females are more likely to worry about crime. The higher tendency for East Austin youth to

**Table 3**

**YOUTH'S PERCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CRIME AND SAFETY**

| Percent of youth who: | Austin | St. Petersburg | Savannah |
|---|---|---|---|
| feel neighborhood has some/a lot of crime | 74% | 62% | 60% |
| feel neighborhood streets during the day are dangerous | 17 | 11 | 17 |
| feel neighborhood streets at night are dangerous | 70 | 50 | 51 |
| worry about break-ins in the neighborhood | 55 | 34 | 40 |
| worry about getting beaten-up in the neighborhood | 61 | 30 | 37 |
| agree that neighborhood has lots of gangs | 67 | 14 | 14 |
| agree that there are things they don't do because they are located in unsafe areas in the neighborhood | 52 | 40 | 38 |

report knowing gang members (but not being involved in gangs) also may influence their greater worry over neighborhood crime compared to youth in the other sites.

Youth in all three sites, however, feel that nightfall brings more danger to neighborhood streets. While less than 20 percent of youth feel neighborhood streets are dangerous during the day, 70 percent of East Austin youth and half of Childs Park and Savannah youth feel the streets are dangerous at night. East Austin youth also are more likely than youth in the other sites to feel unsafe in the neighborhood in ways that prevent them from doing things they would like to do.

Neighborhood Problems

We also asked youth about potential problems related to the neighborhood's physical appearance (e.g., trash, graffiti, run-down buildings), the people (e.g., noisy, troublesome, fighting, unsupervised), and police relations, and how serious a problem each was. In general, youth in East Austin and Savannah are most concerned about the neighborhood's physical upkeep, while in Childs Park, problems among people in the neighborhood are deemed most serious.

Table 4 shows that Austin youth identify graffiti, litter and broken glass, and people hanging out as the three most serious problems, followed by people getting into fights, unsupervised children and police not caring.

In Childs Park, youth report that unsupervised youth, litter and broken glass, uncaring police, police who harass people and people hanging out are the major problems in the neighborhood. Younger youth indicated that "fights" are one of the five most serious problems in the neighborhood. While unsupervised children and litter are the most serious problems for females in Childs Park, males are most concerned about uncaring police and police who harass people. This view about police relations, held most strongly by older males in the survey, may also reflect a general sentiment in the area which has experienced tensions with police, most recently in Fall 1996, shortly after the survey.

Savannah's youth think the neighborhood's physical upkeep is a major concern, in particular, run-down buildings, litter, trash and broken glass, and vacant houses, followed by loud music, unsupervised children and people hanging out. Interestingly, in our community mapping, Savannah also had the most areas with graffiti and boarded-up buildings among the three sites. Across all age groups and for both males and females, these same six problems were consistently identified as most serious in the Savannah neighborhood.

Neighborhood Cohesion

While the majority (over 70%) of youth agree that people in the neighborhood generally get along, only about half feel that neighbors share the same values (see Table 5). Most youth are willing to contribute to neighborhood improvements, but older youth in East Austin and younger youth in the other two sites are the most willing. Over 60 percent of the youngest youth care what neigh-

*Table 4*

**YOUTH'S PERCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBORHOOD PROBLEMS**

| **Percent of youth who feel ___ is a serious problem:** | **Austin** | **St. Petersburg** | **Savannah** |
|---|---|---|---|
| litter, trash, broken glass | 78% | 55% | 59% |
| graffiti | 87 | 22 | 34 |
| vacant houses | 57 | 40 | 59 |
| buildings run down | 59 | 36 | 62 |
| abandoned cars | 52 | 25 | 35 |
| people hanging out | 73 | 48 | 53 |
| fights | 69 | 41 | 42 |
| neighbors causing trouble | 51 | 33 | 31 |
| people who say insulting things | 59 | 35 | 42 |
| loud music | 52 | 39 | 56 |
| unsupervised children | 69 | 58 | 54 |
| police not caring | 62 | 53 | 45 |
| police bothering, harassing | 47 | 49 | 38 |

Table 5

## YOUTH'S PERCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBORHOOD COHESION

| Percent of youth who: | Austin | St. Petersburg | Savannah |
|---|---|---|---|
| agree that people in neighborhood share the same values | 55% | 51% | 53% |
| agree that they would work to improve neighborhood | 88 | 83 | 86 |
| agree that adults in neighborhood listen to teens | 42 | 35 | 42 |
| agree that adults in neighborhood fear teens | 44 | 24 | 25 |
| agree that they have a say in the neighborhood | 49 | 37 | 37 |

bors think about them, but fewer of the older youth, especially in Childs Park, share the same view.

Although youth are less optimistic that adults in the community listen to teens, they do not think that adults fear them. Roughly 60 percent of youth across the sites feel that adults in the neighborhood do not listen to young people. Younger youth are more likely to report that adults do listen to them than are older youth. Most youth—over half in East Austin and 75 percent in Childs Park and Savannah—believe that adult neighbors are not afraid of teens.

SUMMARY

All three CCYD neighborhoods are minority communities, with Austin being predominately Hispanic (89%), and both St. Petersburg and Savannah having mostly African Americans (72% and 94%, respectively). Each neighborhood is also much poorer than its respective city. Two-thirds of East Austin residents did not complete high school, while about half of CCYD residents in Childs Park (54%) and in Savannah (49%) graduated from high school. Residents in all three neighborhoods are more likely to work in low-paying services and production/laborer occupations than in higher-paying professional/managerial and sales/technical positions. However, a higher percentage of CCYD residents in Childs Park and Savannah work in these higher-paying positions than do residents in East Austin.

Over three-quarters of youth in all sites were enrolled in school or college at the time of the survey, but a significantly higher percentage of East Austin youth (28%) than those in Childs Park and Savannah (both 10%), report having dropped out at some point. (This high dropout rate in East Austin mirrors a national trend among Hispanic youth.) Of youth not in school, only a third of East Austin youth have a GED or high school diploma, compared to half of Childs Park and 61 percent of Savannah youth. Of all youth in each site, the percentage who are neither in school nor have a degree or GED is more than double in East Austin (19%) than in the other two sites (7%).

Across all sites, the baseline survey shows that a substantial number of youth have engaged in various risk behaviors, with the prevalence noticeably increasing as youth, especially males, get older. The one exception is with school suspensions where, in all the sites, 15- to 17-year-old youth are the most likely to have ever been suspended.

Overall, East Austin youth have a much higher tendency to have ever drunk alcohol or used drugs, and are somewhat more likely to have been stopped by the police and arrested than are youth in the other sites. In all sites, youth involvement in these risk behaviors increases with age. Knowing peers or family members in gangs is also much more common with East Austin youth, but in all sites, few youth report actual involvement in gangs.

Across the sites, about half of all youth report having had sexual intercourse. While about a quarter of 12- to 14-year-old boys and 10 percent or less of 12- to 14-year-old girls are sexually experienced, more than half of 15- to 17-year-old youth, and over 80 percent of 18- to 20-year-

old youth report being sexually experienced. The likelihood of getting pregnant or getting someone pregnant is also high for those youth who have had sexual intercourse.

To the eyes of someone accustomed to urban neighborhoods in the north or northeast U.S., the CCYD neighborhoods may look suburban. Single-dwelling homes with lawns large enough to require mowers are predominant in all three CCYD neighborhoods. Each neighborhood also has a more affluent pocket with larger, better maintained homes. Savannah appears to have more blocks with buildings boarded up and tagged with graffiti than do the other two sites (though again, compared to many northern cities, graffiti in these communities is virtually nonexistent).

Based on the ratio of open to closed businesses recorded in the community mapping visits, East Austin, with 10 open businesses for each closed business, has the strongest local economy, while Savannah has the weakest with two open businesses for each closed one. In all three neighborhoods, the majority of businesses are small and independently owned. There are no chain supermarkets in any of the neighborhoods, but several convenience stores. Restaurants are mostly fast food versus sit-down styles and each neighborhood has seven to eight establishments that serve or sell alcohol. There is at least one bank in all three communities. A number of medical, dental, law and social services offices exist in both Austin and Childs Park, but very few, if any, appear in Savannah.

A substantial number of physical facilities are located in all three neighborhoods that either already or could potentially offer resources for youth. Both East Austin and Childs Park have four to five schools in the neighborhood, although the majority in East Austin are elementary schools, and in Childs Park, the bussing program requires most youth to attend school outside their neighborhood. All neighborhoods, but especially Savannah, have a large number of churches, a few of which already offer youth activities. And unlike many northeastern U.S. cities, the spaciousness of the CCYD neighborhoods allows for more indoor and outdoor recreational facilities. East Austin has about 15 outdoor recreational areas or parks, followed by Savannah with eight, while Childs Park has only one.

While the majority of youth in all three sites report that their neighborhood has some crime, East Austin youth worry more about crimes such as break-ins and beatings, and are more likely to feel there are unsafe places in the neighborhood that prevent them from doing things they would like to do. All youth, however, perceive their neighborhood streets to be more dangerous at night than during the day.

When asked about neighborhood problems, youth in East Austin and Savannah are most concerned about the neighborhood's physical appearance, while Childs Park youth feel problems with people are most serious. Problems with uncaring and harassing police were major concerns for older male youth in Childs Park where strong tensions with the police force have occurred. Finally, across the sites, youth do not believe that adults are afraid of them, but most youth also do not feel that neighborhood adults listen to what they have to say.

## III. GAP PERIODS AND TIME USE

Much has been written on adolescents' use of their discretionary time and the lack of positive activities to fill that time. Many youth fall prey to antisocial activities in good part because positive activities and safe places are not available at crucial times. After school, weekends, summers—so-called "gap" periods—are for these youth times of heightened danger, both to their lives and their lifestyles. Research has shown positive benefits of participation in extracurricular activities in terms of both educational and noneducational outcomes. A number of studies (Schafer and Armer, 1968; Snyder, 1969; Spady, 1971; Medrich, 1991) have discussed the relationship between participation in sports and other extracurricular activities and grades, high school dropout rates, college aspirations and college enrollment and completion. In general, youth who participate in structured activities do better academically both while in high school and once they enroll in college.

In addition to the educational benefits of extracurricular activities, youth are likely to derive other benefits as well. Snyder (1969) found not only better educational achievement, but also higher occupational achievement among youth who had higher activity participation rates in high school. Schinke et al. (1992) found that providing additional activities to youth and making them accessible by instituting Boys and Girls Clubs in housing developments led to less drug-related behavior among youth. And finally, Medrich (1991) reports that high school students who are involved in organized activities tend to have higher self-esteem, lower delinquency rates and a greater sense of control over their lives.

Thus, one of the primary goals of CCYD is to increase opportunities for youth to engage in positive activities during their nonschool and/or nonwork hours.

We documented youth's gap period activities in two ways. First, we asked youth to account for their time from arising in the morning until going to bed at night for two days—the most recent weekday and the most recent weekend day. Second, we asked a series of questions about their participation in specific activities—both structured and unstructured—including team sports, afterschool activities, church youth groups and caring for younger children. The daily time use measurement helps us to determine how much free time youth have and how they spend it when not in these specific activities. The latter measurement provides an indication of the number of youth who have ever participated in activities adolescents commonly engage in and the extent of their participation during the four weeks prior to the survey.

This chapter presents our findings on how youth in these neighborhoods typically spend their free time and their recent participation in specific gap period activities. We also examined the relationship between participation in structured gap activities and youth's grades, self-efficacy and involvement in risk behaviors. We found that as youth get older, their participation in structured activities declines. We also found, consistent with the literature, generally positive relationships between participation in structured activities and grades and self-efficacy. That is, youth who

reported participation in more gap activities tended to have higher self-efficacy and to report getting better grades. And youth who were participating in more structured activities were less likely to be engaging in risk behaviors. These results are discussed in more detail below.

## TIME USE

The time use data examine how youth in these neighborhoods generally spend their time throughout the day—for both weekdays and weekends. The data reported below represent averages for each of the CCYD neighborhoods. By averaging across all of the youth in the neighborhood, we can create a composite of what a typical day looks like for youth in each of the three age groups we are examining. Since we are mainly concerned with how youth spend their free time, we first account for the time that youth spend in school or work.

As shown in Figure 5, the extent to which youth are enrolled in school, working or neither varies across age groups.[1] Not surprisingly, virtually 100 percent of the youngest youth—those aged 12 to 14—are enrolled in school and very few of them are doing any work for pay. Among 15- to 17-year-olds, the vast majority are enrolled in school, but the percentage varies from a high of 96 percent in Savannah to only 80 percent in Austin. In both St. Petersburg and Austin, 5 percent of this age group is working and not enrolled in school.

School enrollment drops significantly among 18- to 20-year-olds, ranging from 47 percent in St. Petersburg to a low of 27 percent in Austin. Over 30 percent of these youth in Austin and St. Petersburg are working, while only 22 percent of 18- to 20-year-olds in Savannah are working. This leaves a substantial portion—almost 40 percent in Austin and Savannah and 22 percent in St. Petersburg—of 18- to 20-year-olds who were neither working nor enrolled in school at the time of the survey across all three sites.

### Weekdays

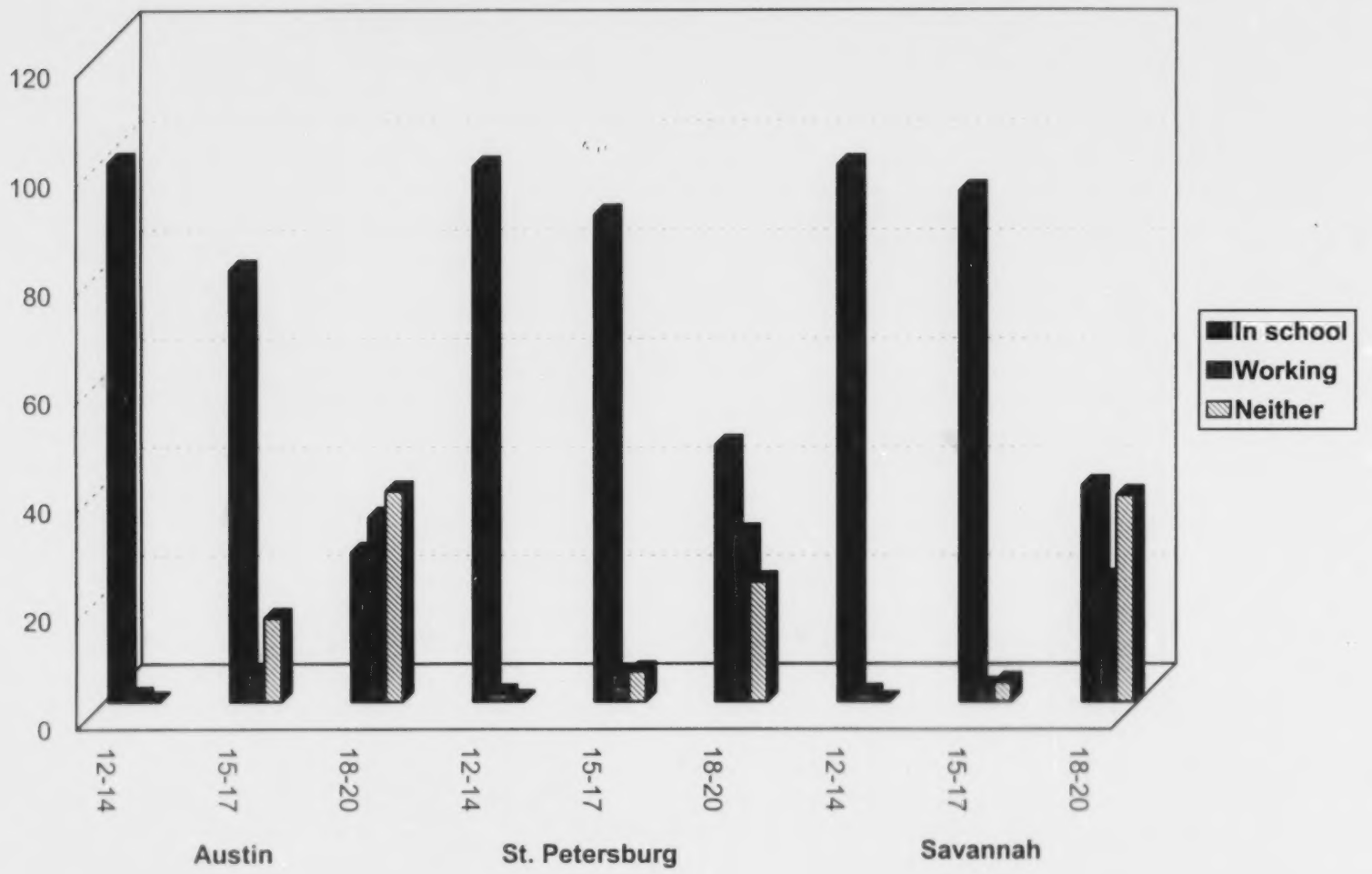
Once we account for the time youth spend at school or work (between five and eight hours each day), we find that they have between six and eight and a half hours of free time available each day. The amount of free time increases slightly as youth get older—from about six and a half hours among 12- to 14-year-olds to approximately eight hours among 18- to 20-year-olds.

So how do youth spend this free time? A substantial amount of time is spent in necessary activities such as eating and personal grooming (showering, dressing, etc.). Eating tends to consume between an hour and an hour and a half of youth's time each day, while grooming activities account for anywhere from 15 minutes to an hour, with older youth, particularly those who are working, spending more time. Most youth spend about 30 minutes doing household chores. And

[1] A small percentage of youth who are enrolled in school also work. For analysis purposes, these youth have been included in the "in-school" sample and the time they spend at work constitutes part of their "free" time.

Figure 5

PERCENTAGE OF YOUTH IN SCHOOL, WORKING OR NEITHER



youth who are enrolled in school spend an average of 30 minutes doing homework on school days.[2] (See Figure 6.)

This leaves youth with a significant amount of time for other activities, including structured, adult-supervised activities. However, these youth tend to spend the majority of this time "hanging out." Hanging out includes watching TV, listening to music, talking on the phone and playing electronic games, as well as just talking with their friends.

Across all sites and age groups, youth spend anywhere between one-third and one-half of their free time simply hanging out. While the proportion of time spent hanging out tends to be slightly less among older youth, across age groups the actual amount of time in these activities is similar, ranging from two and a half to three hours each weekday. And youth spend an additional 30 to 45 minutes in unstructured leisure activities (which includes such things as informal games and sports, and going to the movies) each day. (See Figures 6 to 8.)

Youth who are neither in school nor working spend even more hours simply hanging out—about twice that of their productively engaged peers—five to six hours a day. (See Figure 8.)

In addition to documenting the large portion of time these youth spend either hanging out or in unstructured leisure, the data indicate that a substantial portion of this time is spent either alone or with peers rather than with adults. In general, youth spend less than half of their "hanging out" time with adults, and the amount of time youth spend with adults declines with age. However, there is considerable variation across the three neighborhoods—youth in St. Petersburg are most likely to spend time hanging out with adults, and youth in Austin are least likely to hang out with adults. Regardless of whether youth are hanging out alone, with their peers or with adults, virtually all of this time is spent at someone's home. For youth of all ages, more than 80 percent of hanging out time is spent at home.

In contrast, a significant portion of the time youth spend in unstructured leisure activities occurs at youth organizations.[3] For 12- to 14-year-olds in all three neighborhoods, about 25 percent of their unstructured leisure time is spent at such organizations. This percentage increases to about 50 percent of unstructured leisure time for 15- to 17-year-olds in Austin and Savannah, but remains at about 25 percent for these older youth in St. Petersburg. And while youth spend up to half their hanging out time with adults, they spend only about one-third of their unstructured

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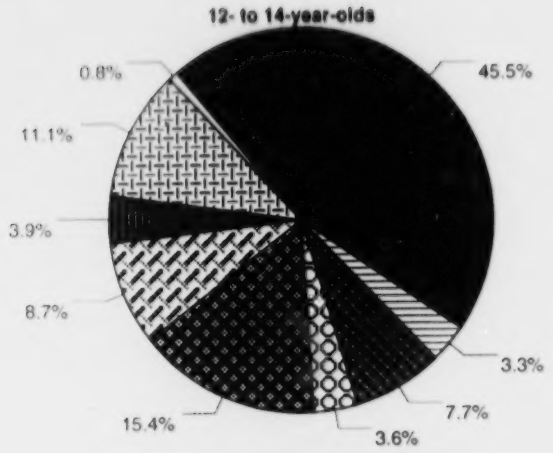
[2] These figures are in line with previous research. Timmer et al. (1985) found that 12- to 17-year-olds in the National Longitudinal Survey spent between 30 and 35 minutes doing homework on weekdays. Leone and Richards (1989) reported that eighth- and ninth-graders spent about six hours a week on homework. And Zill et al. (1995) reported that tenth-graders in the National Educational Longitudinal Study spent about three hours per week on homework.

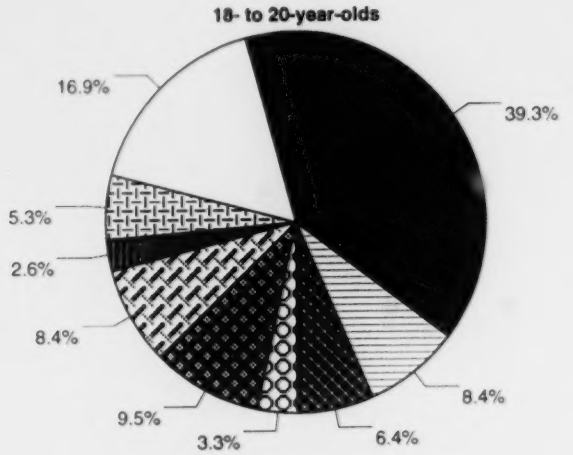
[3] The unstructured leisure time spent at youth organizations does not include the time youth are engaged in organized sports or other structured activities that are facilitated by an adult.

Figure 6a

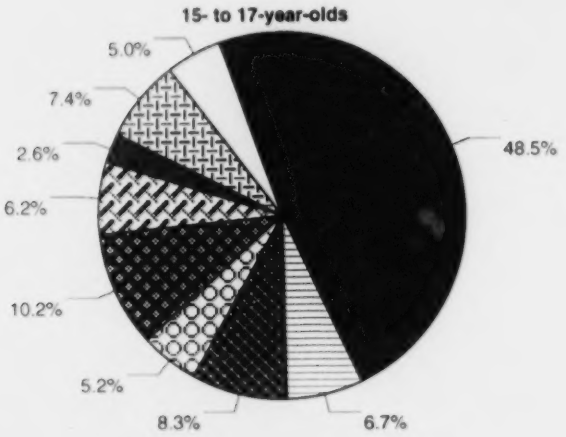
PERCENTAGE OF TIME SPENT IN AFTER-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES
AUSTIN IN-SCHOOL YOUTH




Available Time=389 minutes (6.48 hours)




Available Time=455 minutes (7.58 hours)




Available Time=421 minutes (7.02 hours)

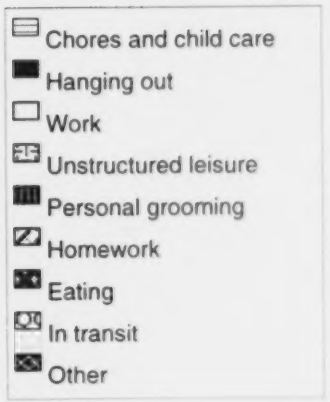
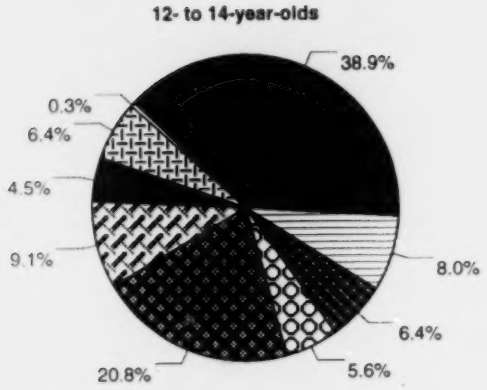
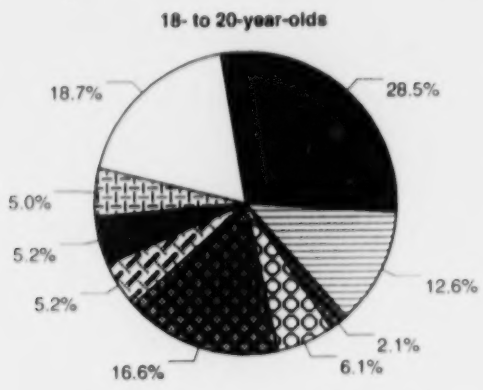
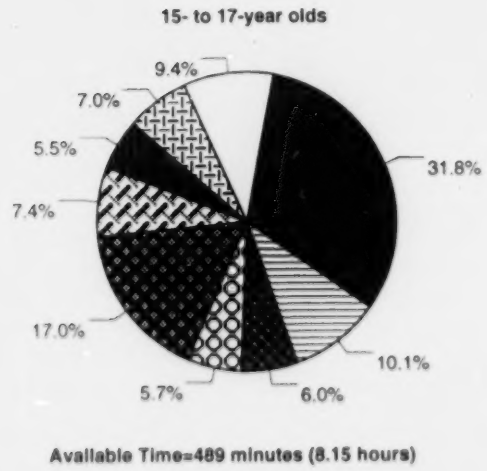


Figure 6b

PERCENTAGE OF TIME SPENT IN AFTER-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES
ST. PETERSBURG IN-SCHOOL YOUTH



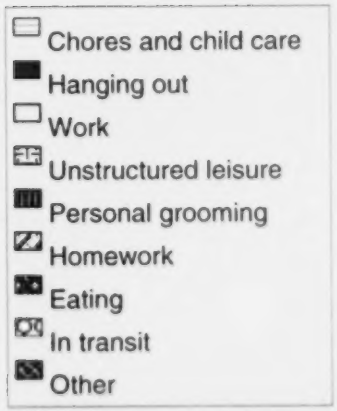
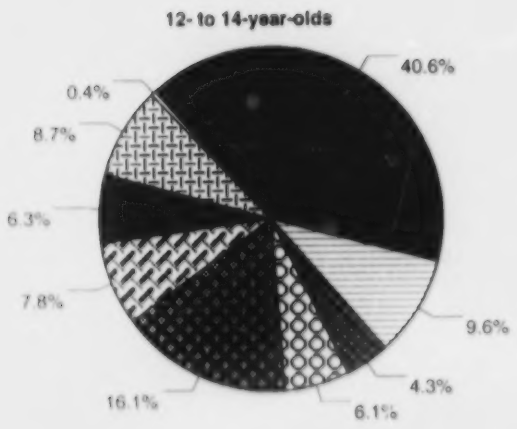
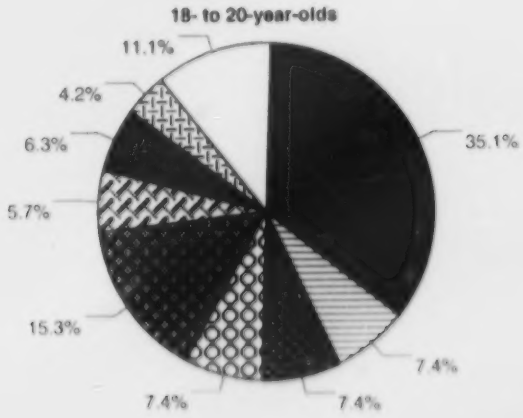
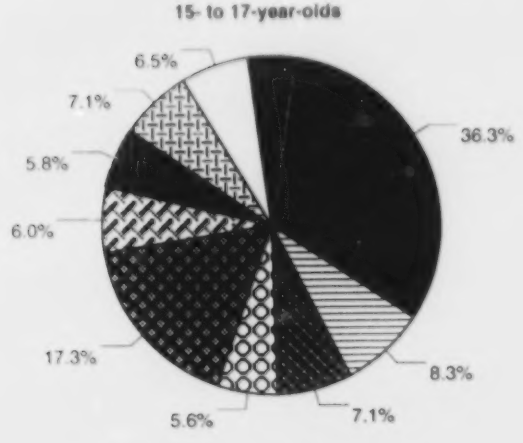



Figure 6c

PERCENTAGE OF TIME SPENT IN AFTER-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES
SAVANNAH IN-SCHOOL YOUTH



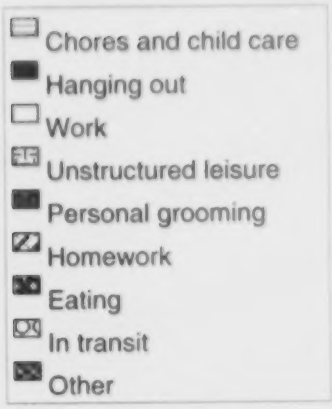
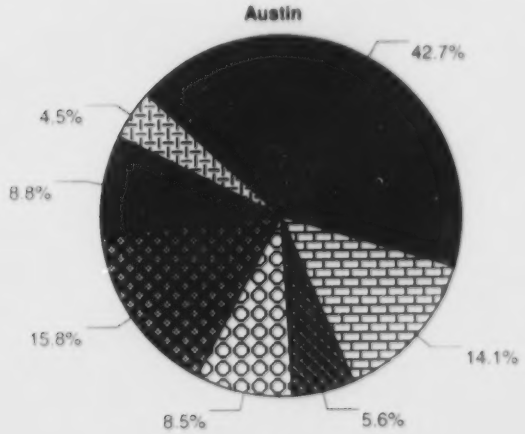
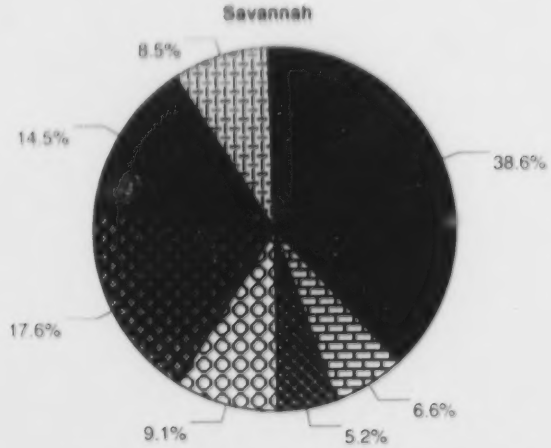



Figure 7

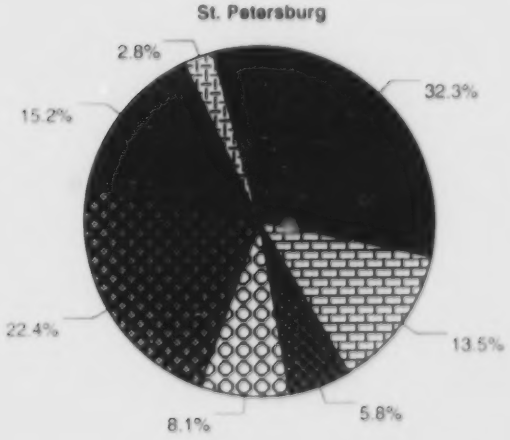
PERCENTAGE OF TIME SPENT IN NON-WORK ACTIVITIES AMONG WORKING 18- TO 20-YEAR-OLDS




Available Time=468 minutes (7.8 hours)




Available Time=484 minutes (8.07 hours)




Available Time=468 minutes (7.8 hours)

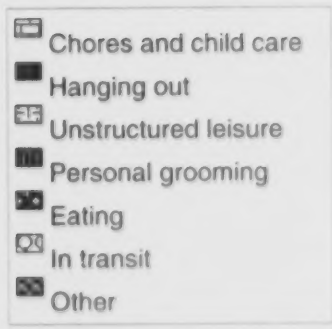
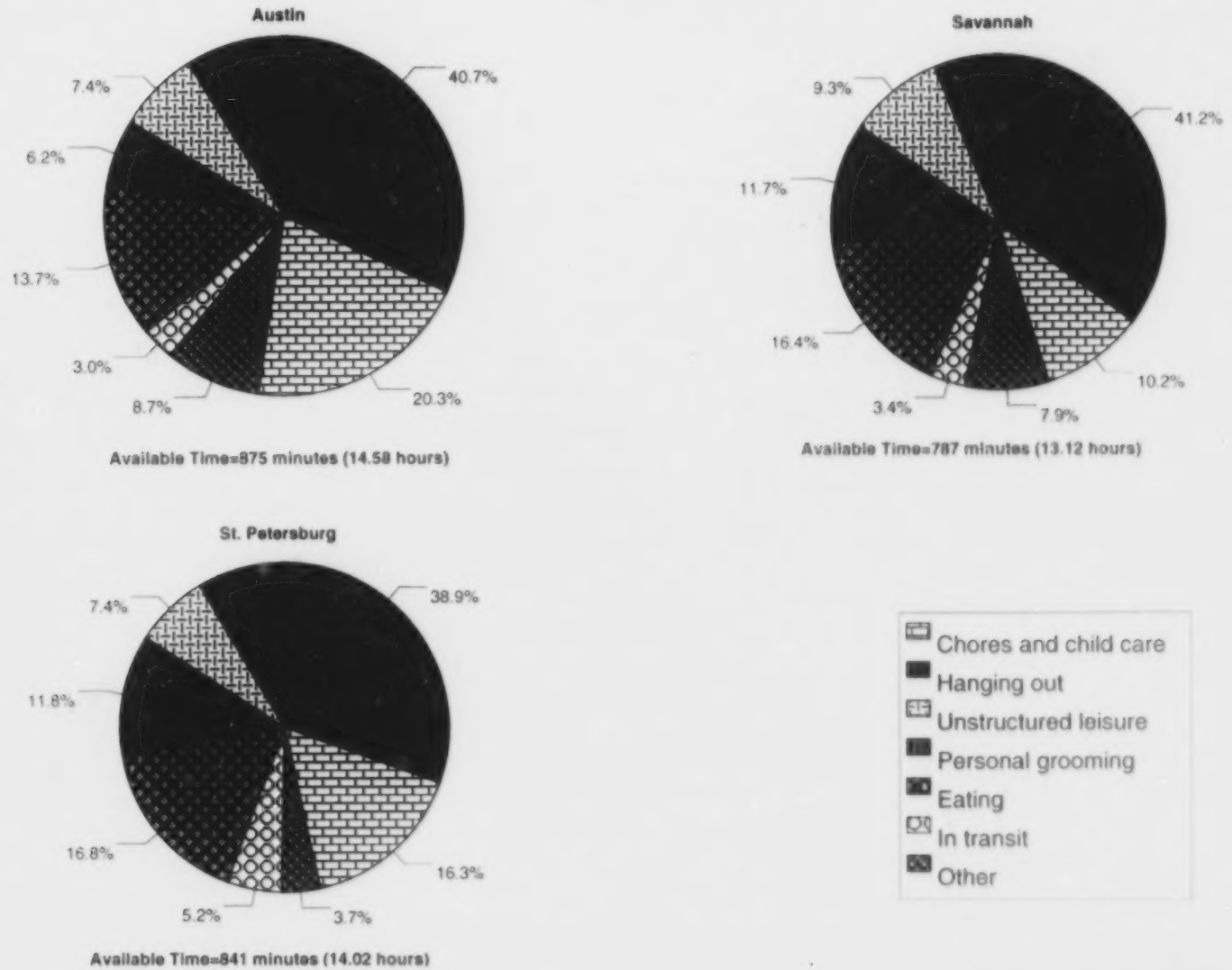


Figure 8

PERCENTAGE OF TIME SPENT IN VARIOUS ACTIVITIES AMONG 18- TO 20-YEAR-OLDS NOT WORKING AND NOT IN SCHOOL



leisure time with adults. The amount of time spent with adults in these activities is consistent for both younger and older youth and across all three neighborhoods.

In contrast to the amount of time they spend hanging out, youth spend very little time in structured activities. Participation in such things as sports teams and extracurricular activities accounts for less than 3 percent of youth's free time. These activities do not comprise a significant portion of the average youth's time because very few youth in these neighborhoods spend any time in these activities—only about 10 percent of 12- to 17-year-olds spent any time in structured leisure activities. Virtually none of the 18- to 20-year-olds reported any time spent in structured leisure. And even fewer youth—between 5 and 10 percent—spend any time pursuing intellectual activities, such as reading or doing art projects.

For those youth who do spend time in structured activities, we observed some variation in where these activities are likely to occur. For younger youth, the majority of this time is at youth organizations—just over half the time youth in Austin spend in structured activities and more than 80 percent of the time youth in St. Petersburg and Savannah spend in these activities is at youth organizations. As youth get older, the amount of time spent at youth organizations declines significantly in Savannah and St. Petersburg—to only 68 and 60 percent, respectively. This decline in these two sites is offset by an increase in the amount of time in structured activities that take place at school. In Austin, however, the percentage of time youth spend in structured activities at both youth organizations and school declines as youth get older.

Weekends

On weekends youth have between 13 and 14 hours to fill each day. Younger youth evidently sleep a little more than their older counterparts since 12- to 14-year-olds average about 13 hours of time, 15- to 17-year-olds have about 13.5 hours and 18- to 20-year-olds have about 14 hours available on weekend days.

Youth of all ages spend about two hours on weekend days eating and about an hour to an hour and a half in grooming activities. For both of these activities the amount of time spent is fairly similar across the three age groups and across all three sites, except that youth in Austin only spend about an hour grooming, while youth in the other two sites spend about an hour and a half. Household chores on weekends require from 30 minutes to just over an hour. The amount of time doing chores increases with age in both Austin and St. Petersburg, but declines as youth get older in Savannah.

The one activity that takes up a significantly increasing amount of time on weekends as youth get older is work. Less than one percent of the youngest youth's weekend time is spent at work. This increases to about 7 percent of the weekend hours among 15- to 17-year-olds. And work comprises an average of 9 percent of the time available for the oldest of these youth. While the amount of time varies somewhat across the three sites, 18- to 20-year-olds spend an average of an hour to an hour and a half working on weekend days.

While these various activities account for much of youth's time on weekends, similar to what we observed for weekdays, these youth spend the single largest chunk of time "hanging out." Roughly 35 to 40 percent of their time, equivalent to four and a half to six hours, is spent hanging out. And unstructured leisure takes up an additional hour to hour and a half, although the amount of time spent in these activities declines slightly with age.

## ACTIVITY PARTICIPATION

One of the major reasons often cited for youth's nonparticipation in structured activities is their responsibilities at home, including the need to perform household chores and to care for younger siblings. Our data, however, do not support this. As noted above, time spent in household chores averages only about 30 minutes a day on weekdays and slightly more (up to an hour) on weekend days. And a relatively small percentage of youth, which does increase as teenagers get older, have regular child care responsibilities. Only about 5 percent of 12- to 14-year-olds, increasing to about 20 percent of 18- to 20-year-olds, report having child care responsibilities.

While we would not advocate that all of youth's free time be taken up with structured activities, the findings discussed above suggest that the youth in the CCYD neighborhoods have a significant amount of time that could be used more productively. This section presents data on the number of youth who are actually participating in structured gap activities and the relationship between this participation and such things as grades, self-efficacy and involvement in risk behaviors.

We asked youth about their participation in four specific structured activities—team sports (either as a player or coach), after-school activities (such as band, drama, arts, etc.), activities at local youth or recreation centers, and church youth groups.

Across sites, the majority of youth (ranging from about half to nearly 70% of youth) have participated in youth center activities. (See Figure 9.) Similarly between one-third and 70 percent of youth have participated in church youth groups. Participation in after-school activities and organized sports tends to be somewhat lower. About one-third to one-half of youth report some involvement with team sports and a similar number of youth report participation in after-school activities.[4]

While the percentage of youth who have ever participated in each of these activities is similar across age groups, the percentage who had participated in any of these activities around the time of the survey varied across age groups. As youth get older their participation in these structured activities tends to decline. As shown in Table 6, about one-third of 12- to 14-year-olds participated in no structured activities during the month prior to the survey. And approximately 30 to 40

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[4] Other research suggests that between 50 and 60 percent of junior high and high school students are involved in sports (Zill et al., 1995; Medrich, 1991). A study of 11- to 13-year-olds, however, found that only 31 percent had used youth recreation centers and only 20 percent had been involved with religious youth groups (Medrich, 1991).

Figure 9a

PERCENTAGE OF YOUTH PARTICIPATING IN STRUCTURED ACTIVITIES

Austin

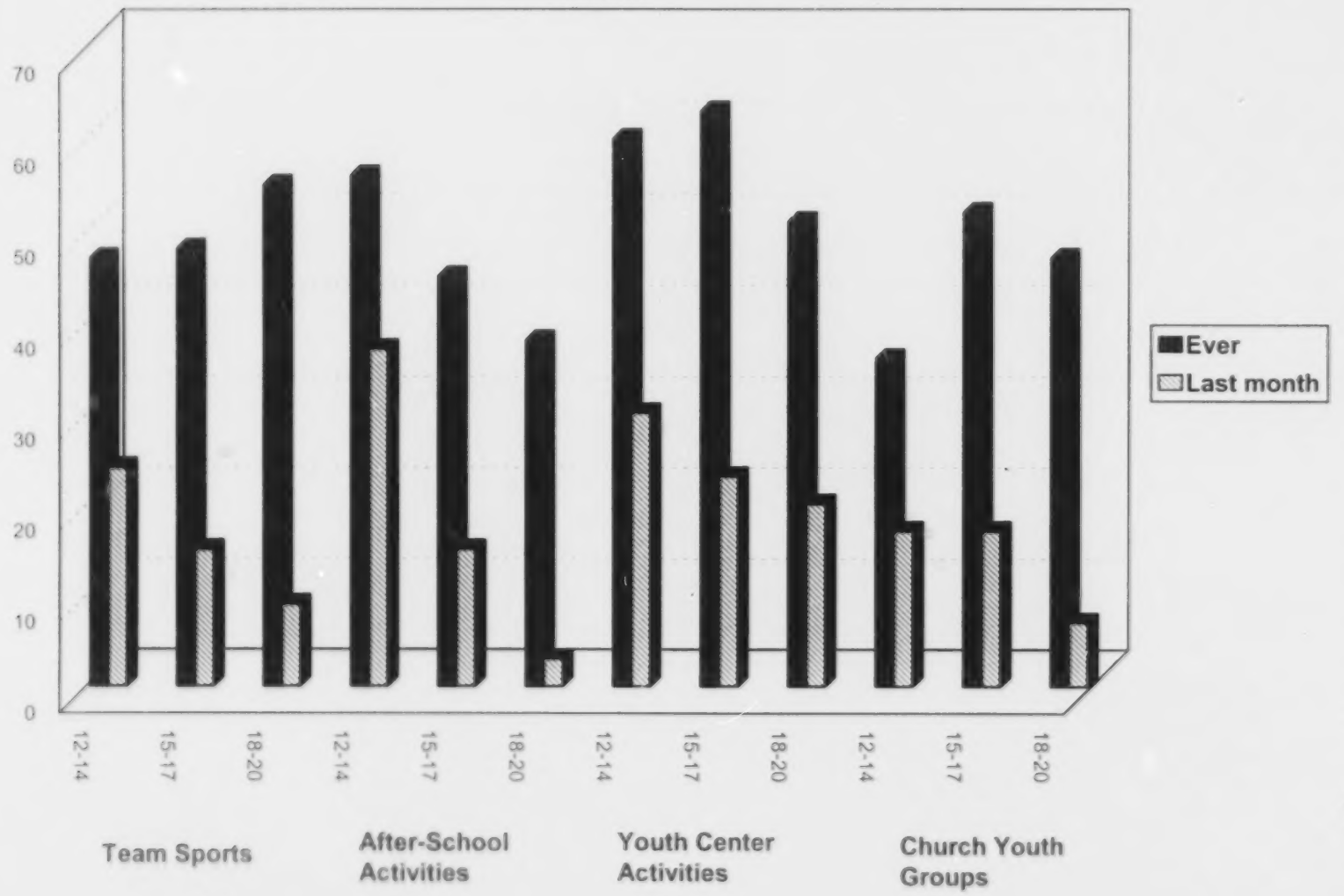

Figure 9b

PERCENTAGE OF YOUTH PARTICIPATING IN STRUCTURED ACTIVITIES

St. Petersburg

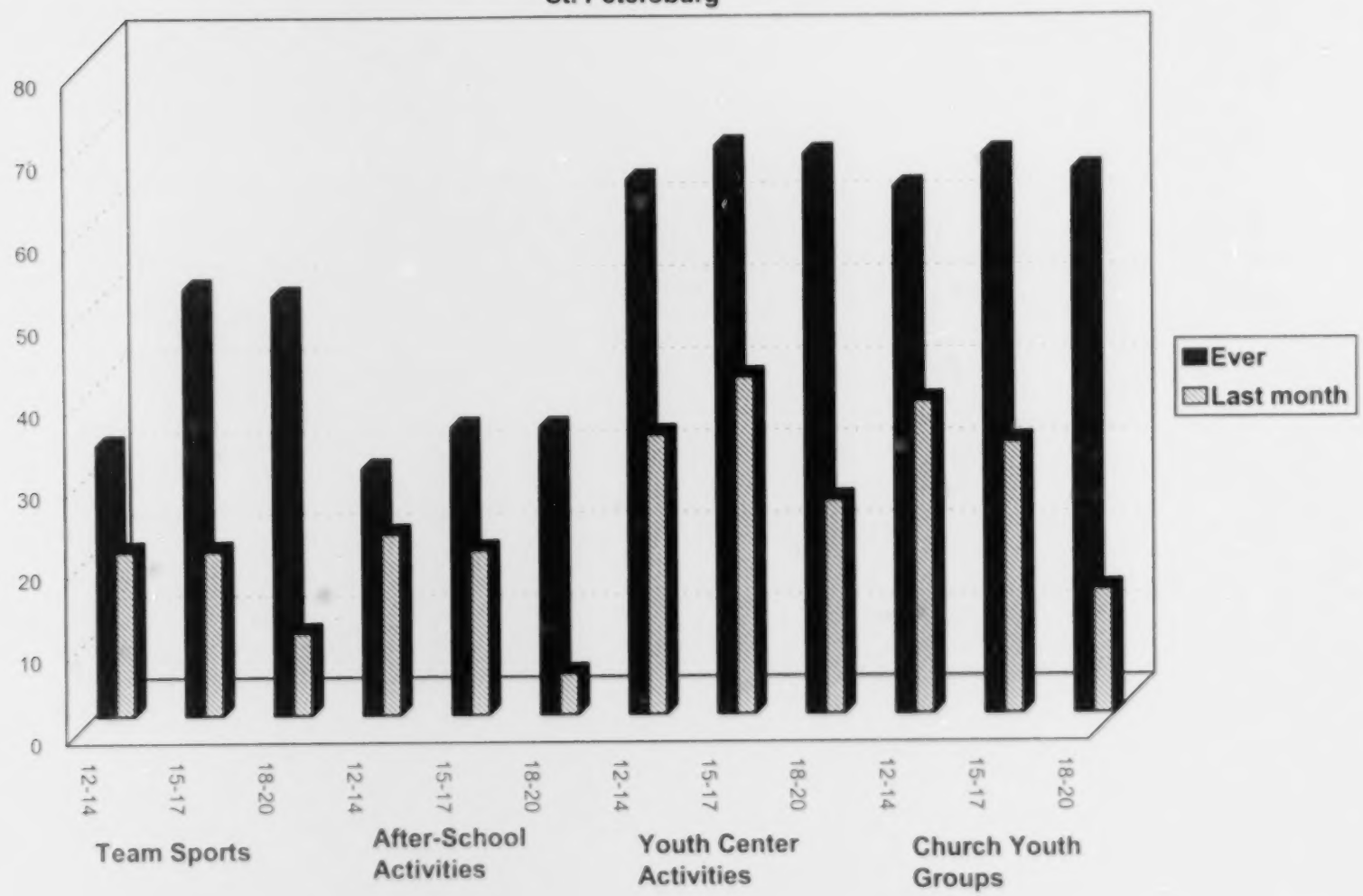

Figure 9c

## PERCENTAGE OF YOUTH PARTICIPATING IN STRUCTURED ACTIVITIES
### Savannah

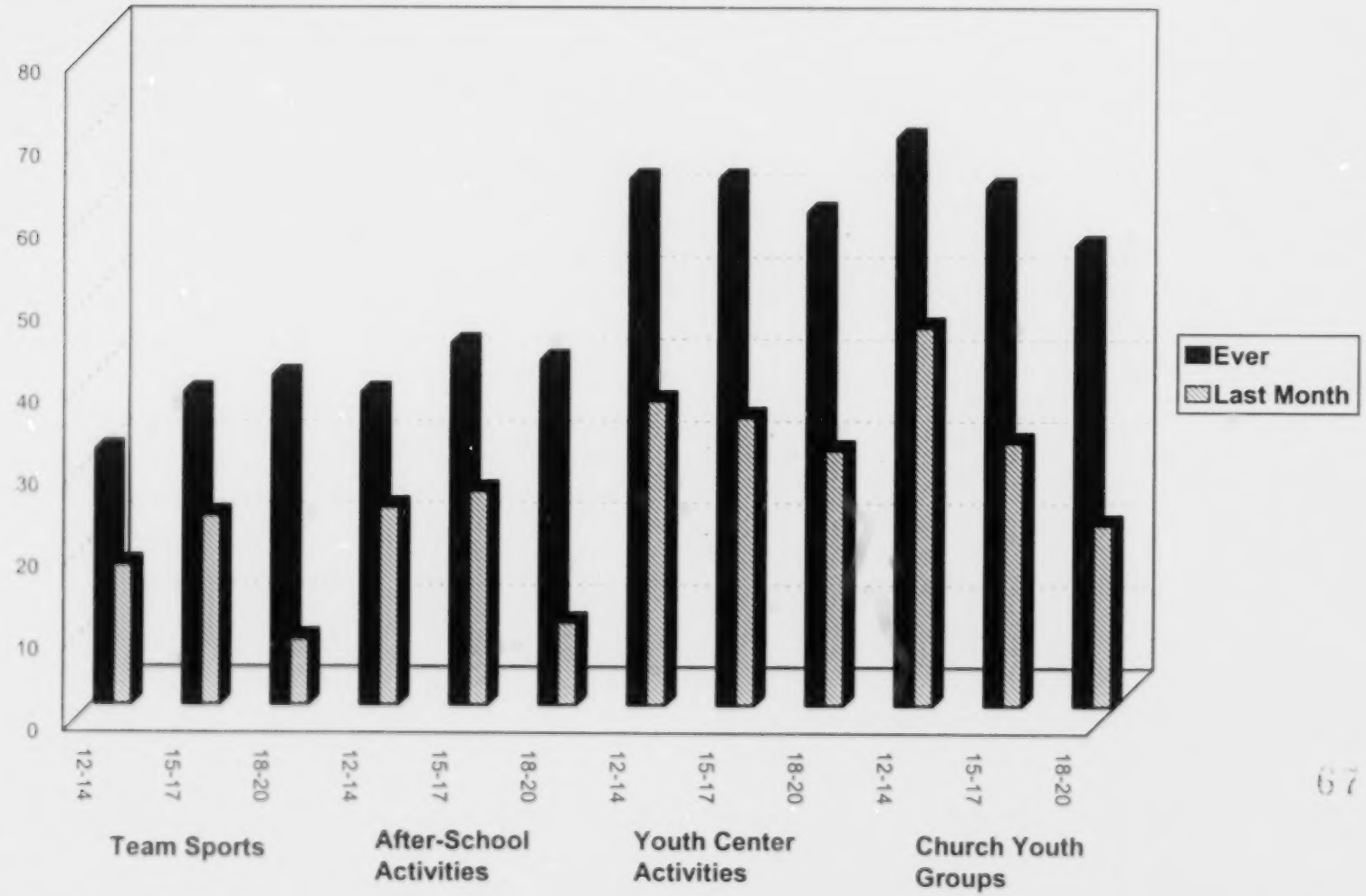

Table 6

RECENT PARTICIPATION IN STRUCTURED GAP ACTIVITIES

| GAP ACTIVITIES | AUSTIN | ST. PETERSBURG | SAVANNAH |
|---|---|---|---|
| 12- to 14-Year-Olds | | | |
| None | 33% | 30% | 31% |
| One | 39 | 36 | 30 |
| Two or More | 28 | 35 | 39 |
| 15- to 17-Year-Olds | | | |
| None | 51 | 32 | 34 |
| One | 34 | 36 | 38 |
| Two or More | 15 | 33 | 28 |
| 18- to 20-Year-Olds | | | |
| None | 68 | 54 | 49 |
| One | 26 | 37 | 36 |
| Two or More | 6 | 9 | 15 |

Percentages may not total to 100 due to rounding.

percent of youth participated in two or more activities. In contrast, one-half to two-thirds of 18- to 20-year-olds participated in no structured activities during the same time period. And less than 15 percent of 18- to 20-year-olds participated in at least two activities. This drop-off in participation is most evident in Austin, but older youth in the other neighborhoods also report significantly less participation.

In particular, the participation of 18- to 20-year-olds in team sports and after-school activities is significantly less than among younger youth. This drop-off most likely reflects the smaller number of youth in this age group who are enrolled in school, where after-school activities and most sports teams are located. However, we also observed a decline in participation in youth center activities and church youth groups. The time-use data, discussed above, indicate that as youth get older, the total amount of their free time (after accounting for time spent at work) actually increases. The data do not provide information that would help understand this decline in participation. It may reflect a change in interests among older youth and/or a lack of opportunities for participation in activities for this age group. It could also be that a substantial amount of these youth's time is spent in "dating," which our data do not distinguish from similar activities with friends.

## PARTICIPATION IN GAP ACTIVITIES AND OUTCOMES

The data relating participation in structured activities with grades, self-efficacy and risk behavior suggest that youth would benefit from increased participation in gap period activities.[5] In general, our data support prior research—youth who have participated in more structured activities tend to have higher grades than do youth with less participation. Among youth who have never participated in any of the activities we examined, a higher percentage have grades that average below a B than do those whose grades tend to be all As and Bs. Similarly, youth who have participated in two or more activities tend to have all As and Bs; very few of these involved youth have grades that average below a B. (See Table 7.)

Similarly, we observed a very strong relationship between participation in structured gap activities and self-efficacy.[6] (See Figure 10.) As the number of activities youth have participated in increases, youth's level of self-efficacy also increases. It appears that participation at some point is more important than current participation. That is, while youth who are currently participating in gap activities have only slightly higher self-efficacy than those who are not current participants,

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[5] It is important to keep in mind that the relationship between participation in structured activities and various "outcomes" is correlational. While we hypothesize that providing youth with more opportunities to participate in positive activities will lead to better outcomes, it is also possible that youth who are already doing better are more likely to seek out additional activities.

[6] Self-efficacy was measured via 16 items that were summarized into a 4-point scale ranging from 4.0 = high self-efficacy to a low of 1.00. In general, these youth reported fairly high levels of self-efficacy—ranging from a low of 2.90 in Austin to 3.02 in St. Petersburg and Savannah.

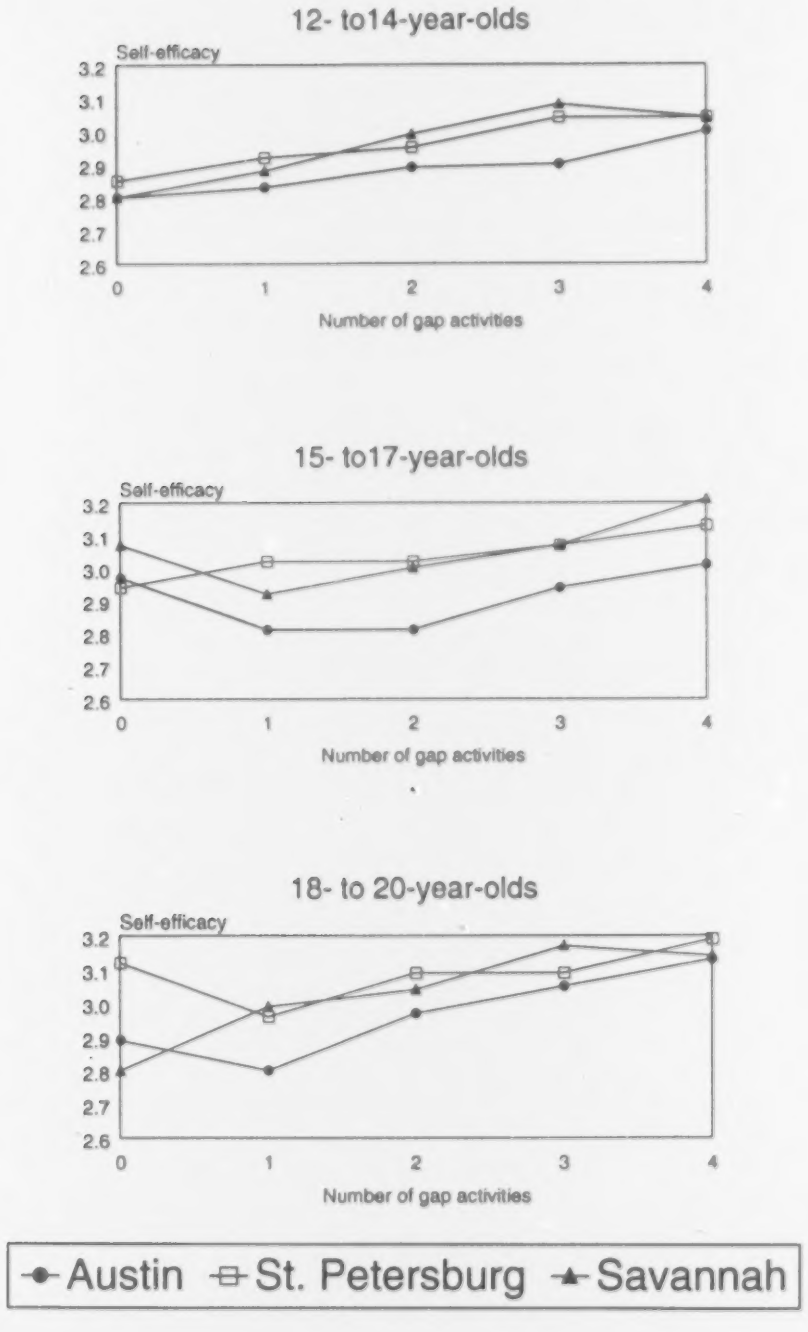
Table 7

## DISTRIBUTION OF GRADES BY RECENT PARTICIPATION IN STRUCTURED GAP ACTIVITIES

| Number of Recent Gap Activities | GRADES | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | AUSTIN | | ST. PETERSBURG | | SAVANNAH | |
| | As and Bs | Bs, Cs and Below | As and Bs | Bs, Cs and Below | As and Bs | Bs, Cs and Below |
| 12-to 14-Year-Olds | | | | | | |
| None | 29% | 35% | 24% | 35% | 22% | 40% |
| One | 38 | 40 | 35 | 36 | 33 | 29 |
| Two or More | 33 | 24 | 42 | 29 | 45 | 32 |
| 15- to 17-Year-Olds | | | | | | |
| None | 43 | 43 | 22 | 34 | 35 | 32 |
| One | 37 | 40 | 35 | 36 | 30 | 43 |
| Two or More | 20 | 17 | 44 | 30 | 36 | 24 |

Figure 10

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARTICIPATION IN STRUCTURED ACTIVITIES AND SELF-EFFICACY



youth who have ever participated in these activities have significantly higher self-efficacy than youth who have never participated in any structured activities.

The relationship between participation in structured activities and involvement in risk behavior is less clear. (See Table 8.) In Austin, where a higher proportion of youth have engaged in risk behavior and where the fewest percentage of youth are participating in structured activities, the relationship is fairly consistent—youth who report involvement in two or more recent risk behaviors tend not to be participating in structured activities. We observed a similar pattern among 15- to 20-year-old youth in St. Petersburg. In Savannah, where the percentage of youth (particularly among younger youth) involved in multiple risk behaviors is generally lower than in the other two sites, there is no relationship between gap activity and participation in risk behavior.

Together these results suggest the importance of increasing youth's involvement in structured activities during their free time. The time-use data show that youth have a significant amount of time that is currently being used unproductively. And large numbers of youth in these neighborhoods are not involved in any structured activities. At the same time the data suggest that youth who are involved in these activities benefit from that involvement. They do better in school and have a better sense that they can do things for themselves. And for some youth, greater participation in gap activities seems to be related to less involvement in risky behavior.

Table 8

**DISTRIBUTION OF RECENT RISK BEHAVIORS BY RECENT STRUCTURED GAP ACTIVITIES**

| Recent Gap Activities | RECENT RISK BEHAVIORS | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | AUSTIN | | | ST. PETERSBURG | | | SAVANNAH | | |
| | None | One | Two or more | None | One | Two or more | None | One | Two or more |
| 12 to 14 | | | | | | | | | |
| None | 56% | 12% | 31% | 76% | 18% | 6% | 88% | 11% | 1% |
| One | 67 | 16 | 17 | 79 | 16 | 6 | 84 | 11 | 4 |
| Two or more | 61 | 14 | 25 | 75 | 16 | 9 | 82 | 14 | 4 |
| 15 to 17 | | | | | | | | | |
| None | 17 | 27 | 56 | 36 | 29 | 35 | 56 | 26 | 18 |
| One | 22 | 27 | 52 | 38 | 26 | 35 | 41 | 33 | 26 |
| Two or more | 18 | 33 | 49 | 43 | 29 | 27 | 47 | 25 | 28 |
| 18 to 20 | | | | | | | | | |
| None | 14 | 32 | 54 | 15 | 27 | 58 | 29 | 27 | 44 |
| One | 12 | 23 | 64 | 21 | 31 | 48 | 34 | 15 | 50 |
| Two or more | 0 | 57 | 43 | 28 | 37 | 35 | 38 | 19 | 43 |

## IV. WORK AS A DEVELOPMENTAL TOOL

As youth move through adolescence and begin to anticipate and prepare for their adult roles, most are motivated to get work experience through part-time jobs or community service. Under the right conditions, work experience can support healthy development in a number of ways. Research shows that if youth work a moderate number of hours (under 20) while still attending school, especially in jobs that allow them to use skills they have, develop new skills, and receive support and guidance from supervisors and co-workers, they are more likely to develop better employability skills (work maturity), increase career awareness and knowledge, have higher post-secondary school enrollment, and in the longer term have higher wage and employment rates (Ruhm, 1997; Mortimer et al., 1996; Mortimer and Finch, 1992; Steel, 1991; Hamilton and Powers, 1990; Stern et al., 1990; Stern and Nakata, 1989; Greenberger and Steinberg, 1986; D'Amico, 1984; Meyer and Wise, 1982). We also know that when work experiences contain opportunities for increasingly challenging responsibilities and autonomy, opportunities for advancement and good pay, young people are more likely to develop a sense of competence and control over their lives, better interpersonal skills and a greater sense of responsibility (Mortimer et al., 1992; Finch et al., 1991; Stern, 1984).

Much of the debate about youth working in paid jobs often centers on the detrimental effects that work experience may have on their academic performance (if in-school) and on their participation in extracurricular activities. Research shows no consensus on whether student employment worsens or improves school performance, although the data do suggest that beneficial effects occur when students work a low to moderate number of hours per week, usually less than 20 hours, but harmful effects can happen with excessive hours of work (Barone et al., 1991; D'Amico and Baker, 1984; Greenberger et al., 1982; Meyer and Wise, 1982; Mortimer and Finch, 1986; Steinberg et al., 1993; Turner, 1994). Similar results linking reduced time spent in school activities with increasing work hours have been found in other studies (D'Amico, 1984; D'Amico and Baker, 1984; Steinberg et al., 1982). However, there is also some evidence that the more youth work, their time spent watching television decreases (Schoenhals et al., 1997; Turner, 1994).

Although research on the quality of youth jobs is generally sparse, there is some evidence that youth, when they get to use and develop their skills and abilities on the job, work with supportive supervisors and co-workers, are challenged, gain responsibilities, and are rewarded for good work are more likely to develop better employability skills, to become career-minded and self-competent, and in the longer term, to earn higher wages (Ruhm, 1997; Mortimer et al., 1996; Mortimer and Finch, 1992; Steel, 1991; Hamilton and Powers, 1990; Stern et al., 1990; Stern and Nakata, 1989; Greenberger and Steinberg, 1986; D'Amico, 1984; Meyer and Wise, 1982).

One of the primary goals of CCYD is to increase the number and variety of paid and unpaid work experience opportunities available for young people in the neighborhood—opportunities to use skills they have, learn new skills, experience increased responsibility, autonomy and pay; receive

supportive guidance from supervisors and coworkers; and see the connection between school and work. This chapter describes the amount, type and depth of exposure that youth in the CCYD neighborhoods have had to the world of work at the start of the initiative.

How Many Youth in the CCYD Neighborhoods Have Had Work Experience?

We examined the work core concept by first asking youth whether they have ever worked in a paid job or in community service. In Table 9 we see that a substantial number of these youth, in all three sites, have never held a job for pay or participated in community service. Nearly 60 percent in Savannah, almost half in St. Petersburg, and more than one-third in Austin have never worked for pay. Even more youth have never performed any community service: 72 percent in St. Petersburg, 67 percent in Savannah and 58 percent in Savannah. The percentages are similar for males and females in each site, and as would be expected, the percentage who have never worked in a paid job decreases with age. With community service, 15- to 17-year-old youth across the three sites are most likely to participate.

Thus, among the youth who have worked, most have held only one paid job—70 percent in both St. Petersburg and Savannah and 54 percent in Austin. While in all three sites the number of jobs increases with age, 59 percent of 18- to 20-year-olds in Austin have held multiple jobs, compared to 40 percent of this group in St. Petersburg and 26 percent in Savannah. For youth who have participated in community service, most have done so only once.

We also compared the paid work experience of in-school and out-of-school youth and found that across the sites, the percentage of youth who have ever worked is similar for both groups. The exceptions are 15- to 17-year-olds in St. Petersburg and 18- to 20-year-olds in Austin, where in both cases significantly more out-of-school youth have ever worked.

At the time of the survey, less than one-third of youth in each site was working—22 percent in Savannah, 28 percent in St. Petersburg and 26 percent in Austin. As expected, the percentages increase with age, with nearly 60 percent of 18- to 20-year-olds in St. Petersburg and almost half in Austin and Savannah reporting that they were working at that time. Only Savannah has a significantly higher percentage of males (25%) than females (19%) working. Few youth were participating in community service at the time of the survey—19 percent in Austin, 16 percent in Savannah and 13 percent in St. Petersburg.

What Kind of Work Have Youth in CCYD Neighborhoods Had?

The types of paid jobs youth have had vary by age and site as shown in Table 10. Informal jobs such as baby-sitting and doing errands or chores for neighbors are predominant among 12- to 14-year-old youth in Savannah and Austin. Most 12- to 14-year-old youth in St. Petersburg also do informal work, but many also work in cleaning/janitorial and lawncare. A small percentage of younger Austin youth also work in construction. As youth get older they are more likely to obtain formal jobs in restaurant/food service and retail/sales, where over half of 15- to 17-year-old youth

Table 9

YOUTH'S PAID WORK AND COMMUNITY SERVICE STATUS

| Percentage of youth who: | AUSTIN | ST. PETERSBURG | SAVANNAH |
|---|---|---|---|
| have never worked in a paid job | 38% | 49% | 59% |
| have never participated in community service | 58 | 72 | 67 |
| have had only one paid job | 54 | 70 | 70 |
| have had only one community service experience | 49 | 65 | 51 |
| were working at the time of the baseline survey | 26 | 28 | 22 |
| were participating in community service at the time of the baseline survey | 19 | 13 | 16 |

Table 10

TYPES OF PAID WORK EXPERIENCE BY AGE

| | AUSTIN | | | ST. PETERSBURG | | | SAVANNAH | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 12-14 | 15-17 | 18-20 | 12-14 | 15-17 | 18-20 | 12-14 | 15-17 | 18-20 |
| Restaurant, Food Service | 7% | 24% | 17% | 8% | 36% | 34% | 6% | 50% | 44% |
| Retail, Sales | 10 | 35 | 16 | 11 | 41 | 22 | 16 | 19 | 29 |
| Cleaning, Janitorial | 0 | 2 | 6 | 19 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 4 |
| Informal | 38 | 9 | 7 | 23 | 2 | 2 | 51 | 9 | 1 |
| Health Care | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Clerical | 0 | 7 | 9 | 0 | 4 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Lawncare/ gardening | 7 | 2 | 2 | 16 | 1 | 3 | 11 | 0 | 1 |
| Manufacturing | 0 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Repair Work | 7 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| Construction | 10 | 13 | 24 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 2 |
| Other Services | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 11 | 4 | 2 |
| Other | 21 | 2 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 10 | 0 | 4 | 5 |

in all sites worked. These two jobs areas remained the most common for 18- to 20-year-old youth in St. Petersburg (56%) and in Savannah (73%). Older youth in Austin, however, had more diverse jobs with a third working in retail/sales and restaurant/food service, a quarter in construction, and almost 10 percent in clerical positions.

We also asked youth in paid jobs how much they earned, and found that the average hourly wage in the first job was similar in all sites and ranged from $4.52 to $4.69. There was some progression in hourly wages for youth in St. Petersburg and Austin who have held at least two jobs, but not at all in Savannah. Very few youth have held as many as three jobs, but among those who have, their hourly wages appear to be improving. We observed increases of more than $1 an hour in St. Petersburg and more than $2 an hour in Austin and Savannah from the first to the third job. However, small sample sizes make these changes statistically insignificant.

In both Austin and Savannah out-of-school youth both work more hours and earn more per week than in-school youth. In St. Petersburg, 15- to 17-year-olds in both groups work similar hours, but out-of-school youth earn more per week; among 18- to 20-year-olds, out-of-school youth work more hours, but do not earn significantly more per week.

How Have Working Youth Performed Academically?

In all sites, there were no differences between the grades of in-school youth who were working at the time of the baseline survey and those who were not. Comparing the grades of students who had ever worked and those who had never worked, we found no difference between these two groups in St. Petersburg. However, in Savannah, the never-worked group had grades that were significantly higher, statistically, than the ever-worked group, while in Austin, it was the reverse, through the difference was not statistically significant. We found no difference in the grades of youth who worked less than 20 hours a week and those who worked 20 or more hours a week.

Do Working Youth Participate in Gap Activities?

We also hypothesized that youth who were currently working would participate less in structured gap activities such as team sports, after-school activities, church groups, and youth and recreation center activities, and found this to be true in all sites. Working youth in all sites tended to participate in fewer gap activities in the four weeks prior to the survey than did nonworking youth, but the difference was statistically significant only in St. Petersburg. One exception was with 18- to 20-year-olds in Savannah where 72 percent of working youth participated in gap activities compared to 39 percent of nonworking youth. Working youth in Austin, regardless of age and gender, generally were less active in recent gap activities than were working youth in the other two sites. Across the sites, participation in gap activities for both working and nonworking youth decreased with age.

Looking at youth who have ever worked, we found similar results of decreasing gap activity participation overall and by age in all sites. But these youth who have ever worked also differed

little from youth who never worked in their gap activities participation. It appears that a substantial number of youth in all sites have neither worked nor recently participated in gap activities—45 percent of Austin youth, 34 percent in St. Petersburg and 38 percent in Savannah. Finding ways to engage these youth in more activities—work and/or gaps—is a major challenge for CCYD in these neighborhoods.

What Is the Quality of Youth's Work Experiences?

As mentioned earlier, research has found that one of the benefits of appropriately structured work experiences is that youth are more likely to develop a sense of competence and control over their lives. We found that working youth have significantly higher self-efficacy than nonworking youth. This finding is consistent across gender and age groups, with older working youth who have more work experience demonstrating higher mean levels than do younger youth.

To better understand the quality of the youths' jobs, which would provide a broad sense of how well they are structured, we asked youth several questions on three features of their job: intrinsic skills, self-direction and work skills. Questions to gauge youth's perception of the intrinsic value of their job ask whether they learn new things in their job, use their skills and abilities, feel they learn something useful for their future, do repetitive tasks, get to solve problems or figure out how to do something, and get to do a number of different things. To understand how much self-direction the jobs entail, we asked youth how much control they have over the way they spend their time at work and how much freedom they feel they have to make important decisions about what they do at work and how they do it. A final set of questions tap into work skills, specifically whether youth feel their job has helped them to follow directions, to get along with others, to be punctual, to take responsibility for their work, and to manage money/personal finances.

Working youth in all sites tend to feel that they are most able to be self-directed (i.e., have control over time and decision-making) and least able to develop work skills (i.e., follow directions, interpersonal communications) in their jobs. In general, a higher percentage of 12- to 14-year-olds compared to older youth feel their jobs provide them with self-direction and intrinsic skills (i.e., using skills, learning), perhaps reflecting the first opportunity for many of these youth, compared to the older youth, to try something on their own. However, older youth in Austin and St. Petersburg, but not in Savannah, are more likely than younger youth to feel they are developing work skills through their jobs.

We also examined job features by the types of jobs held by the youth who were working at the time of the survey. Youth working in restaurant or food service jobs in St. Petersburg and Austin, and in retail jobs in Savannah, rate these jobs low on intrinsic value; they feel their work is repetitive with little opportunity to learn new things or to use their skills. Jobs providing more opportunity to develop intrinsic skills involve manual labor and include informal work, construction, repair work and manufacturing (in Austin, but not St. Petersburg). Not surprisingly in all sites, youth in informal work, such as babysitting and running errands, where youth mostly choose when to work and have little supervision, feel they have the most discretion over time and decisions. Jobs in

cleaning and lawncare also rate high in self-direction. In the development of work skills, youth working in manufacturing jobs in Austin, informal work in St. Petersburg, and repair, cleaning and other services work in Savannah all feel their jobs have helped them to be on time, get along with others and follow directions. Interestingly, jobs in restaurant/food service and retail/sales, where the most youth in the all sites work, are perceived as least helpful in developing work skills.

## V. CONTINUITY OF SUPPORT THROUGH CRITICAL TRANSITIONS

Adolescence encompasses many changes and transitions, ranging from the physical (e.g., puberty) to the social (e.g., peer groups, dating, parenting, marriage) to the institutional (e.g., junior high, high school, work, college). These new experiences represent opportunities for growth, but only if there are adequate supports available for young people as they make the adjustment necessary to succeed in each new role or institution. We know from research that as young people move to different schools, establish new peer groups and move into jobs, the kind of preparation they receive, how the transition occurs and what supports are in place to facilitate their growth into new roles are key factors in whether the transitions result in failure, continued struggle or success. For example, as young people move from middle to high school, the experience is more likely to be positive if they are well-prepared (e.g., academically, with pre-orientation), if the transition is smooth (e.g., parents are involved, peer groups move together), and support is available when they get to high school (e.g., counselors, peer group programs, class scheduling) (Felner et al., 1982; Barone et al., 1991).

In supporting youth through critical transitions, CCYD aims to ensure that there is continuous support available to neighborhood youth through all the key transitions of adolescence. Since the pathways of older youth in working class and poor neighborhoods tend to be much less well-defined than the lives of middle-class youth (who often expect to go to college), the need for transitional supports may be more critical. Particular attention should be paid to helping teens move from school to school, from school to jobs, and into more demanding or challenging social roles such as dating, marriage and parenting.

In the CCYD baseline survey, we focus on the transitions that youth experience going from middle or junior high school to high school and transitions after high school to postsecondary institutions, work or the military. We began by asking if they have made a transition between schools and if so, whether they received any guidance or assistance. Across the sites, the percentages of 15- to 17-year-olds and 18- to 20-year-olds who said that they have switched from middle/junior high to high school are over 80 percent, with the exception of 79 percent of 18- to 20-year-olds in Savannah. Among 12- to 14-year-olds, however, there are differences by site. While over 60 percent of 12- to 14-year-olds in St. Petersburg reported that they have moved from middle to high school, about half of these youth in Savannah, and only 31 percent in Austin had switched schools. (See Table 11.)

Of the youth who have switched schools, a substantial number received no guidance with their transition—almost half in Austin (48%) and Savannah (43%) and about a third in St. Petersburg (35%). The percentage of youth who did receive guidance was highest among 12- to 14-year-old youth in Austin (61%) and St. Petersburg (67%) and among 15- to 17-year-old youth in Savannah (61%). In all sites, youth received help with this transition most often from a counselor or teacher in school, followed by friends or family, and least often from a formal, out-of-school program. School and family support have been linked in several research studies to helping youth feel more

**Table 11**

**TRANSITION ACTIVITIES**

| **Percentage of youth who said "yes":** | **AUSTIN** | **ST. PETERSBURG** | **SAVANNAH** |
|---|---|---|---|
| made transition from middle to high school, or high school to work/college | 65% | 75% | 71% |
| received help with transition | 52 | 61 | 57 |
| visited workplace | 49 | 46 | 46 |
| internship | 14 | 10 | 12 |
| school-to-work program | 19 | 16 | 20 |
| vocational program | 13 | 9 | 14 |
| career events | 34 | 31 | 33 |
| **Discussed with adult in past year about:** | | | |
| career | 66 | 77 | 69 |
| getting a job | 65 | 71 | 59 |
| college | 52 | 58 | 55 |
| technical school | 21 | 28 | 29 |
| **Believe information available on:** | | | |
| jobs | 68 | 72 | 68 |
| colleges | 67 | 74 | 72 |
| vocational training | 49 | 64 | 61 |
| military jobs | 58 | 64 | 59 |

integrated with the new school and less socially insecure at school (Barone et al., 1991; Felner et al., 1982).

We also asked youth whether they have ever participated in career preparation activities such as workplace visits, internships, school-to-work programs; whether they have spoken to adults about post-high school options; and whether they feel they have access to information about these options. Overall, most youth have not participated in career guidance activities, as Table 11 shows. Only half of youth in all sites have visited a workplace, fewer youth have participated in other activities. In general, older youth are more likely to participate in most of these activities than younger youth.

Small, but substantial numbers of youth have also never discussed postsecondary school plans such as careers, getting a job and college, with an adult in the past year. Between 25 and 35 percent of youth in all sites have not had discussions about careers or jobs with adults recently, and more have not talked about college and technical school. Older youth are more likely to discuss postsecondary school plans with adults, although younger youth in Austin talk with adults more about careers and college, but not about getting a job. In all sites, youth also feel they can get more information on jobs and colleges than on vocational training and military jobs.

## VI. ADULT SUPPORT AND GUIDANCE

The more adults who know, care about and have a positive role in a youth's life, the more likely youth are to receive the support and guidance necessary to avoid serious problems and mistakes, and to develop the attachments and imitative behavior that facilitate youth's making sound, future-oriented decisions. Research shows (Dubow and Tisak, 1989; Dunn et al., 1987; Astone and McLanahan, 1991) that youth who have adults as a source of support in their lives have lower levels of stress, make better decisions and experience better academic achievement. Further, youth who grow up in environments where family members, neighbors and others monitor their activities are more likely to attend school regularly, exhibit fewer behavior problems and engage in less violence (Sampson and Groves, 1989).

Thus we examined adult support and guidance in several ways. First, we simply asked youth about the number of adults in various contexts who provide them with several specific types of support. We asked about adults in their family (including both those with whom they live and other relatives), adults at school, adults at youth-serving organizations (such as Boys and Girls Clubs, YMCAs, local recreation centers, etc.) and adults in their neighborhoods. For each of these types of adults, we asked about four types of emotional support—e.g., paying attention to what is going on in their lives; getting on their case when they mess up; and four types of instrumental support—e.g., providing help in an emergency, providing help with school work (for those youth who were enrolled in school). In addition to simply examining the amount of adult support these youth receive, we looked at the relationship between level of support and three variables that we hypothesized would be affected by whether or not youth receive adult support—self-efficacy, grades and involvement in risk activities.

We also asked youth about their level of satisfaction with the number of adults available with whom they can do things and with whom they can talk about things. Finally, to examine the level of monitoring in these neighborhoods we asked youth about the number of adults in their neighborhood who know them and who are likely to do something if they observed them doing something wrong.

Regardless of the source, we found that as youth get older, they tend to have fewer adults who provide support. Satisfaction with the amount of support provided declined with age in two sites, but increased in St. Petersburg. Overall, we found that youth with more adult support tend to have higher self-efficacy, better grades and less participation in risky behaviors. And youth who believe that adults in their neighborhood are monitoring their behavior and would report negative activities to their parents are less likely to engage in risk behaviors. These results are discussed in more detail below.

## PROVISION OF ADULT SUPPORT

We begin by examining the number of adults who provide emotional and instrumental support to these youth. Regardless of the source of support youth receive from adults, we found that the number of adults to whom youth feel they can turn for support declines as youth get older. For both emotional and instrumental support, youth who are 12 to 14 have more adults they can count on than do youth who are 15 to 17. And 15- to 17-year-olds tend to have more adults who provide them with support than do youth who are 18- to 20-years-old. (See Figures 11 and 12.)

### Family Support

Not surprisingly, most of the adults who provide youth with support are members of their own families. The majority of youth have at least two adults in their family who provide them with support.[7] And in general, youth have more people in their families who provide emotional support than who provide instrumental support.

Although the majority of youth have at least two adults to whom they can turn, a surprising number have fewer than two. About 40 percent of the youth in Austin, regardless of age, have fewer than two adults who provide emotional support and about half report having less than two adults who provide them with instrumental support. In St. Petersburg and Savannah, the number of youth who report having fewer than two adults who provide support increases with age. In these two sites, only about 25 percent of 12- to 14-year-olds have fewer than two adults who provide either type of support. Among 18- to 20-year-olds, however, about 40 percent have less than two adults in their families who provide them with support.[8]

### School Support

Youth also tend to receive a lot of support from adults they know through school. Similar to the pattern observed for families, the number of adults who provide support declines as youth get older. Across all three sites, the youngest youth report having an average of about two adults at school who provide both emotional and instrumental support. This declines over time: 18- to 20-year-old youth who are enrolled in school, report having an average of about 1.7 adults at school to whom they can turn for support.

Unlike the pattern observed for family adults, the adults youth know through school are about equally likely to be someone they can turn to for emotional or instrumental support.

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[7] The only exception is in Austin, where youth who are 15 or older report an average of less than two adults who provide them with emotional support.

[8] Although we hypothesized that youth who reside in single-parent families would report fewer family adults who provide support, in general this is not the case. Approximately equal percentages of youth in two-parent as in single-parent families report fewer than two adults who provide them with support.

## Figure 11
## NUMBER OF ADULTS PROVIDING EMOTIONAL SUPPORT

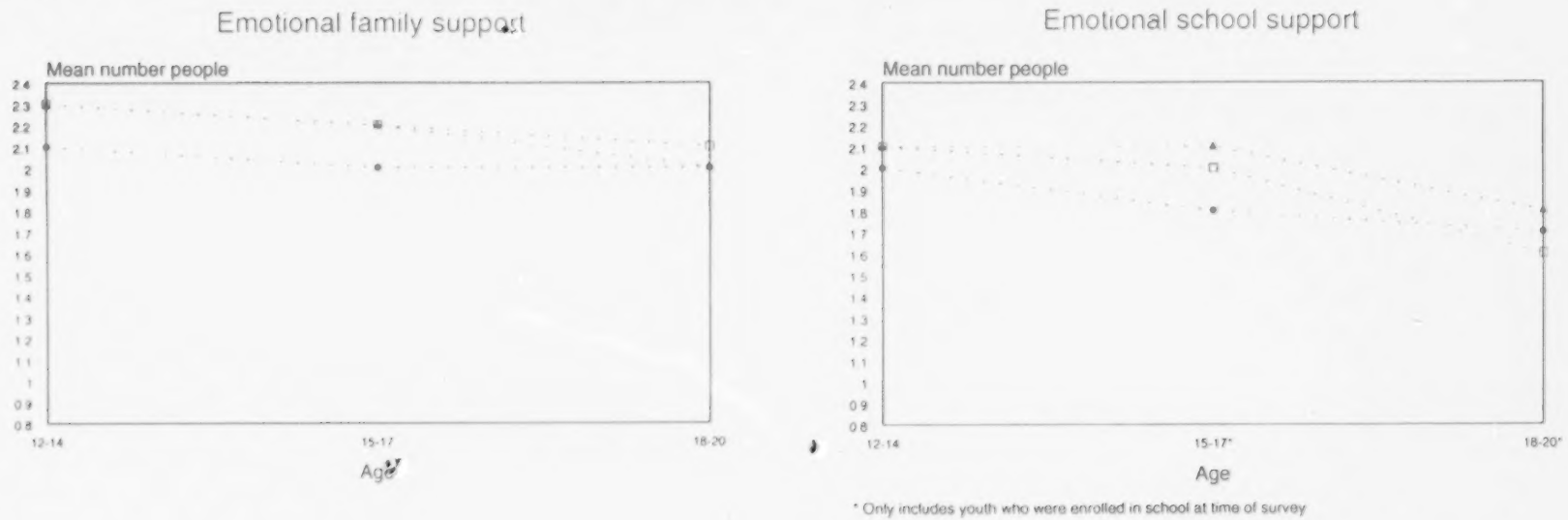
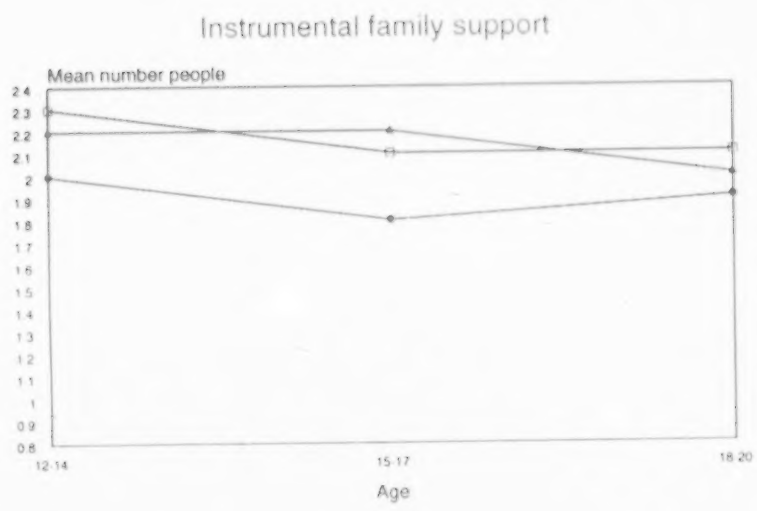
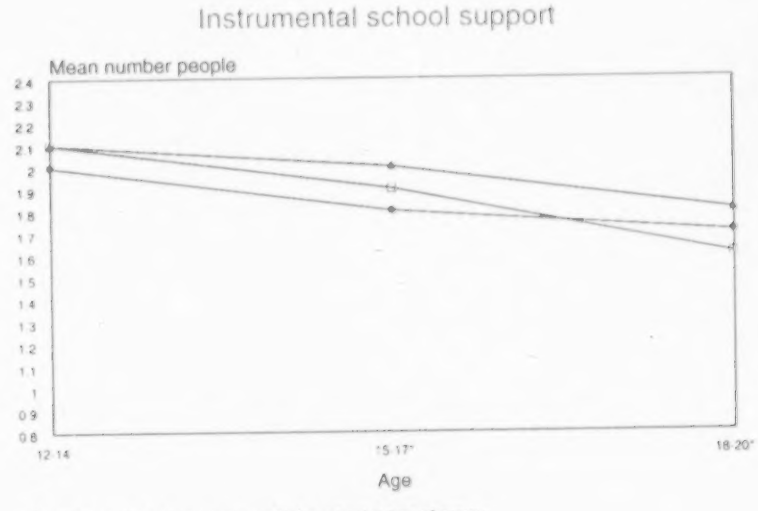
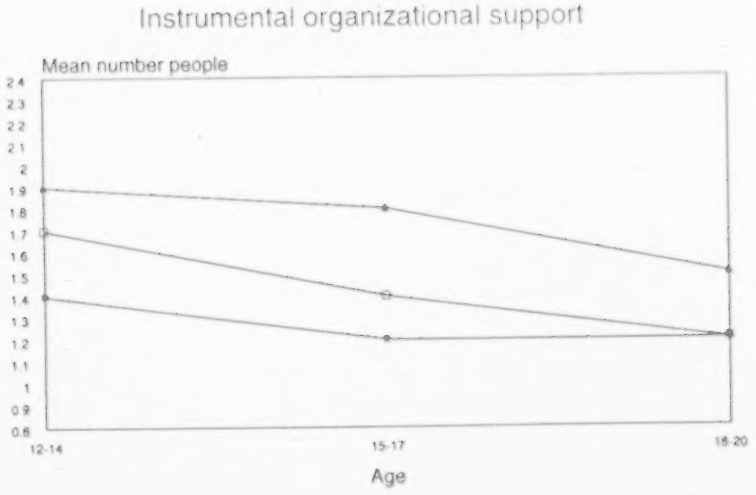


Figure 12
NUMBER OF ADULTS PROVIDING INSTRUMENTAL SUPPORT




* Only includes youth who were enrolled in school at time of survey



Austin St. Petersburg Savannah

Youth Organization Support

In looking at the support youth receive from adults affiliated with youth organizations, we find considerable differences across the three CCYD neighborhoods. Although the number of these adults who provide support declines as youth get older, how many adults youth have differs across sites, as does whether they provide emotional or instrumental support.

Youth in Savannah have the most adults in youth organizations who provide them with support. The youngest youth report having nearly two adults in these organizations who provide both emotional and instrumental support. This declines over time to an average of 1.5 individuals who provide support to 18- to 20-year-olds. The large number of adults in these organizations who provide youth with support is also reflected in the fact that among 12- to 17-year-olds, only about 10 percent report that there are no adults in these places who provide support.

For youth in St. Petersburg, however, adults in organizations are more likely to provide emotional support. The number of adults providing emotional support declines from an average of 1.8 individuals available to 12- to 14-year-olds to only 1.3 individuals to whom the 18- to 20-year-olds can turn. (Between 15% and 25% of youth report having no adults at organizations who provide them with support.) For all age groups, the number of adults who provide instrumental support is slightly lower—from an average of 1.7 adults reported by12- to 14-year-olds to a low of 1.2 adults available to18- to 20-year-olds.

In contrast, youth in Austin have fewer adults (than do youth in the other two sites) in organizations to whom they can turn, beginning at an early age. More than 20 percent of 12- to 14-year-olds and about 30 percent of 18- to 20-year-olds report having no adults in organizations who provide them with support. (See Table 12.) The youth who do turn to these adults for support are more likely to obtain instrumental support than emotional support. Thus, 12- to 14-year-olds report having only 1.4 adults who provide instrumental support and 1.3 adults who provide emotional support. The decline in the number of adults at youth organizations is much less than in the other two sites. 18- to 20-year-olds report having 1.2 adults who provide instrumental support and 1.1 adults who provide emotional support.

Neighborhood Support

Finally, youth have the least number of adults who provide support among those individuals who reside in their own neighborhood.[9] About 15 percent of 12- to 14-year-olds and approximately 25 percent of 18- to 20-year-olds have no one in their neighborhood to whom they can turn for support. (The lack of anyone to provide support is particularly severe among 18- to 20-year-olds in St. Petersburg, where about 35 percent of youth report having no one to whom they can turn.) Except in Savannah, where neighbors are equally likely to provide emotional and instrumental

[9] The number of adults who reside in the neighborhood excludes any family members who may also be neighbors.

Table 12

## PERCENTAGE OF YOUTH WITH NO ADULTS WHO PROVIDE SUPPORT

| % of Youth | Family | | School[1] | | Organizational | | Neighborhood | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Emot | Inst | Emot | Inst | Emot | Inst | Emot | Inst |
| **AUSTIN** | | | | | | | | |
| 12-14 | 0.7% | 0.4% | 0.6% | 1.1% | 21.9% | 21.0% | 19.0% | 15.8% |
| 15-17 | 0.4 | 2.2 | 1.7 | 2.7 | 26.9 | 28.7 | 27.4 | 21.1 |
| 18-20 | 1.6 | 3.4 | 1.8 | 1.8 | 31.6 | 30.7 | 24.7 | 24.8 |
| **ST. PETERSBURG** | | | | | | | | |
| 12-14 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.8 | 1.1 | 13.7 | 12.5 | 16.9 | 13.0 |
| 15-17 | 0.7 | 0.5 | 2.5 | 2.1 | 22.8 | 22.2 | 28.4 | 21.6 |
| 18-20 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 8.3 | 4.5 | 24.2 | 25.0 | 41.4 | 31.6 |
| **SAVANNAH** | | | | | | | | |
| 12-14 | 0.3 | 1.6 | 0.7 | 0.4 | 9.1 | 9.7 | 16.2 | 14.1 |
| 15-17 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 3.7 | 3.8 | 10.5 | 11.8 | 21.6 | 18.4 |
| 18-20 | 1.3 | 0.8 | 8.5 | 5.8 | 27.5 | 26.5 | 23.6 | 25.5 |

[1] Support from adults at school is measured only for in-school youth.

support, youth tend to turn to neighbors for instrumental support more than for emotional support. And similar to the pattern observed for other types of adults, the number of neighbors available to youth tends to decline as youth get older. The exception to this pattern is in Austin, where 15- to 17-year-olds tend to report the least number of supportive adults in the neighborhood.

## ADULT MONITORING

In addition to having adults who directly provide support, youth may benefit simply from knowing that adults in their neighborhood know who they are and pay attention to what they are doing. We asked youth about the number of adults in their neighborhood who: know where they live; know their parents; know their name; and would tell their parents if they saw them doing something wrong. Across the sites, between 50 and 70 percent of youth indicated that most adults on their block know where they live and almost as many know their parents. (See Table 13.) Somewhat fewer adults, however, know their name. All of these decline as youth get older. That is, a higher percentage of 12- to 14-year-olds said that all or most adults on their block know these things than the percentage of 15- to 17-year-olds who reported the same. And fewer 18- to 20-year-olds said that all or most adults know these things.

Among the youngest youth, almost as many believe that most neighborhood adults would tell their parents if they were doing something wrong—48 percent of these youth in Austin, 53 percent in St. Petersburg and 57 percent in Savannah said this. The percentage who believe most adults would report to their parents drops off sharply, however, among 15- to 17-year-olds. Only about one-third of this age group in Austin and St. Petersburg and half in Savannah believe that most adults would tell their parents about bad behavior. And even fewer 18- to 20-year-olds (compared to 15- to 17-year-olds) think that most adults would talk to their parents about their behavior; particularly in St. Petersburg (22%) and Savannah (41%).

## SATISFACTION WITH ADULT SUPPORT

In addition to asking youth about the actual number of adults who provide various types of support, we asked a few questions regarding their satisfaction with the number of adults in general who provide them with support. While the majority of youth report being satisfied with the number of adults in their lives, a substantial minority are dissatisfied.

Youth are most likely to report satisfaction with the number of adults "who care about them." (See Table 14.) In Austin and Savannah, the percentage of youth who are satisfied with the number of adults who care about them declines with age—about 75 percent of 12- to 14-year-olds report being satisfied, but among 18- to 20-year-olds, 70 percent in Austin and only 60 percent in Savannah are satisfied. In St. Petersburg, although a similar number of 12- to 14-year-olds (about 75%) report being satisfied, this increases to a satisfaction level of 83 percent among 18- to 20-year-olds.

Table 13

## YOUTH PERCEPTIONS OF ADULT MONITORING OF NEIGHBORHOOD ACTIVITIES

| % of Youth who believe adults on their block are very likely to do something if they saw someone: | AUSTIN | ST. PETERSBURG | SAVANNAH |
|---|---|---|---|
| 12- to 14-Year-Olds | | | |
| Breaking into a house | 69% | 66% | 69% |
| Painting graffiti | 44 | 54 | 46 |
| Fighting | 44 | 39 | 36 |
| Selling drugs | 42 | 39 | 39 |
| 15- to 17-Year-Olds | | | |
| Breaking into a house | 64 | 69 | 64 |
| Painting graffiti | 41 | 46 | 50 |
| Fighting | 34 | 31 | 39 |
| Selling drugs | 29 | 37 | 40 |
| 18- to 20-Year-Olds | | | |
| Breaking into a house | 64 | 66 | 61 |
| Painting graffiti | 49 | 38 | 41 |
| Fighting | 41 | 26 | 40 |
| Selling drugs | 37 | 33 | 40 |

Table 14

YOUTH SATISFACTION WITH THE NUMBER OF ADULTS IN THEIR LIVES

| % of Youth Who are Satisfied | The Number of Adults Who: | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Care About Them | Provide Advice | Do Things with Them |
| **AUSTIN** | | | |
| 12- to 14-Year-Olds | 77% | 61% | 57% |
| 15- to 17-Year-Olds | 73 | 59 | 49 |
| 18- to 20-Year-Olds | 69 | 50 | 49 |
| **ST. PETERSBURG** | | | |
| 12- to 14-Year-Olds | 76 | 61 | 58 |
| 15- to 17-Year-Olds | 79 | 72 | 62 |
| 18- to 20-Year-Olds | 83 | 76 | 71 |
| **SAVANNAH** | | | |
| 12- to 14-Year-Olds | 75 | 64 | 54 |
| 15- to 17-Year-Olds | 70 | 63 | 51 |
| 18- to 20-Year-Olds | 60 | 69 | 50 |

Youth are least satisfied with the number of adults who like to do things with them. About 40 percent of 12- to 14-year-olds wish they had more adults who liked to do things with them. In both Austin and Savannah, about half of all youth who are 15 and older wish they had more adults to do things with. Older youth in St. Petersburg, however, are more likely to be satisfied with the number of adults who do things with them—only about 30 percent report dissatisfaction in this area.

Satisfaction with the number of adults who provide advice varies across the three sites. In all three, about 60 percent of the youngest youth report being satisfied (leaving 40 percent who are dissatisfied). In Austin, the number of youth who are satisfied decreases to 50 percent among 18- to 20-year-olds. In contrast, 75 percent of 18- to 20-year-olds in St. Petersburg and nearly 70 percent in Savannah, are satisfied with the number of adults from whom they can get advice.

## ADULT SUPPORT AND OUTCOMES

While it is important that youth feel good about the number of adults who are providing them with support, our main concern with the level of adult support these youth receive has to do with the relationship that exists between support and various developmental outcomes. In particular, we examined the relationship between support and youth's self-efficacy, grades and involvement in risk behaviors. The data indicate, as expected, that more adult support is associated with more positive outcomes.

### Self-Efficacy

For the overall sample of youth in each of the three CCYD neighborhoods, we observed a clear pattern that youth with more support from adults in their families, at school and in youth organizations have higher self-efficacy. The level of family support, both emotional and instrumental, in promoting self-efficacy is particularly important for youth between the ages of 12 and 17. Across all three sites, we found that youth who reported higher levels of family support also had higher self-efficacy. While a positive relationship between support and self-efficacy also exists for 18- to 20-year-olds, the relationship is somewhat weaker and the importance of emotional versus instrumental support varies across the sites. Levels of emotional support from family members is positively related to self-efficacy in St. Petersburg and Savannah, while only the instrumental support received by older youth in Austin is related to their level of self-efficacy.

The amount of school support received by 12- to 17-year-olds is also very important. Similar to what we observed for family support, youth who report higher levels of both emotional and instrumental support from adults at school have higher self-efficacy. Again the relationship between school support and self-efficacy is weaker for 18- to 20-year-olds.

The amount of support received from adults in youth organizations is particularly important for 15- to 17-year-olds, but not for 12- to 14- or 18- to 20-year-olds. Among these middle adoles-

cents in all three neighborhoods, the youth who received more emotional and instrumental support from adults at youth organizations also reported higher levels of self-efficacy.

Finally, support from neighborhood adults is not related to self-efficacy for most youth in the CCYD neighborhoods.

Grades

Adult support is also related to the grades youth obtain,[10] particularly for 12- to 14-year-olds. Youth in this youngest age group who have more family adults and who have more adults at school who support them tend to have better grades. Some of these youth also benefit from support provided by the adults at youth organizations, but this relationship is weaker than that between family and school support and grades.

Among 15- to 17-year-olds, level of family support is not related to grades, but some youth in this age group (observed primarily in St. Petersburg) benefit from support provided by adults at school and adults at youth organizations. There were no effects of neighborhood support on grades for either age group.

Risk Behavior

We also observed a generally positive relationship between level of adult support and restriction of risk behaviors. However, unlike the findings for grades, we found that older youth, that is those between 15 and 20, tended to benefit more than younger youth. In addition, the support youth receive from adults at school and adults at youth organizations is more important than family support in terms of limiting risk activity. In some cases, we found that youth with high levels of family support actually engage in more risk behaviors than do youth with less family support.[11]

For the youngest youth, receiving support from adults at school, compared to support from other sources, is most likely to be related to less risk behavior. Among 15- to 17-year-olds, adults at both school and youth organizations are important sources of support, but the relationship between support and fewer risk behaviors is somewhat stronger for organizational support. Finally, 18- to 20-year-olds consistently benefit from receiving support from nonfamilial adults—at school (for those youth still attending school), at youth organizations and in their neighborhood.

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[10] Because so few 18- to 20-year-olds were enrolled in school, we did not examine the effect of support on grades for this age group.

[11] Again, we cannot determine causality from these data. The observed relationship could indicate that youth who have been engaged in risk behaviors have more family members who "get on their case when they mess up" as a consequence of the youth's negative behavior.

In addition to the relationship between adult support and risk behavior, we also looked at the relationship between adult monitoring and risk behavior. While the monitoring data discussed earlier indicate the perceptions of youth, not whether neighborhood adults would actually report what they see to their parents, one presumes that these perceptions are at least partly based on reality. And one would expect that youth who believe no one likely to report their negative activities to their parents would be more likely to engage in risk behavior. The data support this hypothesis. Youth who report that no one on their block would report their negative activities to their parents are more likely to have engaged in three or more risk behaviors (and two or more recent risk behaviors) than are youth who believe that all or most neighborhood adults would report their behavior to their parents. This is particularly true for youth aged 12 through 17 in all three sites. About twice as many youth who believe no one will report them have engaged in three or more risk behaviors, compared with youth who think most adults would tell their parents. Not surprisingly, the relationship is less strong for 18- to 20-year-olds. Presumably since these youth are actually young adults and many no longer live with their parents nor are they subject to parental control, they are less constrained by the threat of having their parents find out about their activities. Interestingly, however, these older youth in Savannah are still constrained by concerns about parental discovery: while nearly 80 percent of youth who said no one would tell their parents had recently engaged in two or more risk behaviors, only 30 percent of those who believed most adults would report them had the same level of risk activity.

## CONCLUSIONS

These results point out the importance of adult support and guidance in the lives of the youth residing in the CCYD neighborhoods. While the levels of support that youth receive from family members is relatively high, support from other adults could be increased considerably, especially among older youth. And the results showing the relationship between support and such things as self-efficacy, grades and risk behaviors indicate that increasing the level of adult support in the lives of these youth could result in very positive benefits.

## VII. YOUTH INVOLVEMENT AND LEADERSHIP

The youth involvement and leadership core concept includes several dimensions. It is particularly important that youth feel a sense of membership in and responsibility to an increasingly wider number of social groups as they mature—from the family to peers and classmates, to teams and clubs, to organizations and, ultimately, to their community. Beyond membership, however, it is also important that youth have an opportunity to take on participatory and leadership roles—i.e., decision-making, participation in planning and carrying out group activities as well as formal leadership roles such as team captains and club officers. When youth develop positive peer networks, participate in cooperative learning and working environments and experience leadership opportunities, they are likely to develop a greater sense of responsibility, more interest in and better performance at school, higher self-esteem, greater perspective-taking, and lower levels of delinquency and gang involvement (Bierman and Furman, 1984; Conrad and Hedin, 1982; Hauser et al., 1984; McGuire and Weisz, 1982; Nair and Jason, 1985; Parker and Asher, 1987; Rossell and Hawley, 1981).

Our examination of youth involvement and leadership in the CCYD sites focuses primarily on specific leadership experiences youth have had. In addition, participation in gap period activities discussed earlier provides opportunities for youth involvement through membership in clubs and teams. We also examined peer networks through youth's indication of the levels of support they receive from peers (similar to the measures of adult support discussed in the previous chapter) and their satisfaction with the number of friends they have. And we also examined the relationship between leadership experiences and such outcomes as self-efficacy and involvement in risk behaviors. We begin with a discussion of youth's leadership experiences.

### LEADERSHIP EXPERIENCE

Our analysis looked at six different types of leadership experiences—formal leadership roles include being a team captain or coach of a team and serving as a group or club officer or leader; informal leadership roles include helping to plan activities, setting rules or procedures for a group, and being in charge of equipment or supplies; representation includes fundraising and making a presentation on behalf of a group. In addition to these three composite measures of leadership, we also asked whether youth had ever been a class officer or on a student council; whether they had ever been a peer counselor; and whether they had taken any leadership training during the past year. From these six leadership indices we constructed a composite index that indicates the number of different types of leadership experiences youth have had during the previous 12-month period.

The extent to which these youth have had recent leadership experiences varies considerably across the three sites and across age groups. (See Table 15.) Older youth are less likely to report recent leadership experiences than are their younger counterparts. Given the strong positive relationship between participation in gap activities and leadership experiences, and the drop-off in gap partici-

Table 15

RECENT LEADERSHIP EXPERIENCES

| % of Youth Reporting Recent Experience | Type of Leadership Experience | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Any Leadership Experience | Formal Leadership | Informal Leadership | Representation | Student Council or Class Officer | Peer Counselor | Leadership Training |
| **AUSTIN** | | | | | | | |
| 12- to 14-Year-Olds | 83% | 43% | 60% | 59% | 22% | 18% | 11% |
| 15- to 17-Year-Olds | 69 | 33 | 47 | 45 | 23 | 13 | 9 |
| 18- to 20-Year-Olds | 56 | 23 | 31 | 34 | 18 | 16 | 16 |
| **ST. PETERSBURG** | | | | | | | |
| 12- to 14-Year-Olds | 71 | 42 | 41 | 51 | 28 | 17 | 12 |
| 15- to 17-Year-Olds | 56 | 34 | 33 | 38 | 16 | 16 | 13 |
| 18- to 20-Year-Olds | 47 | 22 | 16 | 25 | 14 | 16 | 7 |
| **SAVANNAH** | | | | | | | |
| 12- to 14-Year-Olds | 60 | 42 | 38 | 42 | 23 | 10 | 5 |
| 15- to 17-Year-Olds | 62 | 41 | 42 | 46 | 28 | 11 | 8 |
| 18- to 20-Year-Olds | 42 | 19 | 24 | 25 | 16 | 10 | 9 |

pation among older youth, this finding is not surprising. Between 45 and 60 percent of 18- to 20-year-olds had no leadership experiences during the previous year. In contrast, 83 percent of 12- to 14-year-olds in Austin reported having at least one leadership experience during this period, while 60 percent of young adolescents in Savannah and 71 percent of those in St. Petersburg had some leadership experiences.

Representation

Of the three composite types of leadership—formal, informal and representation—the most common type of experience for these youth is representation. Between 40 and 60 percent of 12- to 14-year-old youth have had recent representation experiences. Although the percentage declines with age, a substantial number of 18- to 20-year-old youth—ranging from 25 to 35 percent—have had similar experiences. These high percentages are attributable primarily to the large number of youth who have done fundraising for organizations. Although the level of participation varies across the three sites, of all the leadership experiences we asked about, fundraising is consistently the number one activity reported by all youth.

Formal Leadership

Levels of participation in formal leadership activities is similar across the three CCYD neighborhoods. Again the youngest youth are the most likely (a little over 40%) to report recent formal leadership experiences. Among the youngest youth, about a quarter have been class officers or on a student council; about a third of the youth have been team captains and around 20 percent have been officers of a group or club. In contrast, only about 20 percent of the oldest youth had any recent formal leadership experiences.

Informal Leadership

Participation in informal leadership roles varies significantly across the three sites. Looking first at the youngest youth, in Austin 60 percent reported recent informal leadership experiences, compared with 42 percent in St. Petersburg and only 38 percent in Savannah. For older youth, informal leadership is similar in Austin and Savannah—about 45 percent for 15- to 17-year-olds and between 25 and 30 percent for 18- to 20-year-olds. In St. Petersburg, however, only one-third of 15- to 17-year-olds and 15 percent of the oldest group reported informal leadership roles.

This variation exists for all three types of informal leadership. Almost half of the youngest youth in Austin have helped plan activities or events and a third have helped set rules and been in charge of equipment or supplies. In St. Petersburg, about a third of the youth have helped plan activities or events and in Savannah only about a quarter of youth have helped plan activities. In both sites only about 20 percent of these youth have recently helped set rules or been in charge of equipment.

Among 15- to 17-year-olds, the most common of the informal leadership activities is planning activities for a club or group—about one-third of the youth in Austin and Savannah and one-quarter of the youth in St. Petersburg report helping to plan activities. A quarter of the youth in Austin and Savannah report helping to set rules for groups and 20 percent have been in charge of equipment or supplies. In St. Petersburg only 20 percent have helped to set rules, while 15 percent have been in charge of equipment.

Members of the oldest group are most likely to report participation in planning activities—about 25 percent of the youth in Austin, 20 percent in Savannah and 15 percent in St. Petersburg. No more than 15 percent of these youth in any of the sites report helping to set rules or being in charge of equipment or supplies.

## PEER SUPPORT AND SATISFACTION

While leadership experiences represent one type of youth involvement, the nature of youth's peer networks is also an important indication of youth involvement. Thus we also examined levels of peer support and youth's satisfaction with their network of friends. Although we found that adult support decreases as youth get older, the number of peers who provide support peaks among 15- to 17-year-olds. (See Table 16.)

In general, early adolescents (12- to 14-year-olds) report having more family adults than peers who provide them with support. As youth get a little older, the number of peers who provide support increases while the number of family adults declines so that 15- to 17-year-olds tend to have more peers than family adults on whom they can rely. Among 18- to 20-year-olds, however, the number of peers declines to about the same level observed among 12- to 14-year-olds. Thus, these older youth have a similar number of peers and family adults who provide support.

Overall, about two-thirds of youth report being satisfied with the number of friends they have. Similarly, about two-thirds indicated that most people their own age like them. That means, however, that nearly one-third of these youth wish they had more friends and that more people their age liked them.[12]

Youth in Austin, and 12- to 14-year-olds in St. Petersburg, are somewhat less satisfied with the number of peers from whom they can get advice and with whom they can do things; 40 to 45 percent reported they would like to have more peers for these things. However, youth in Savannah and older youth in St. Petersburg reported satisfaction levels similar to those for the number of friends they have.

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[12] The number of youth in St. Petersburg, particularly among the two older age groups, reporting satisfaction is somewhat higher—about 80 percent.

Table 16

YOUTH SATISFACTION WITH THE NUMBER OF PEERS IN THEIR LIVES

| % of Youth Who are Satisfied | The Number of Peers Who: | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Are Friends | Like Them | Provide Advice | Do Things with Them |
| **AUSTIN** | | | | |
| 12- to 14-Year-Olds | 65% | 69% | 59% | 55% |
| 15- to 17-Year-Olds | 67 | 69 | 60 | 60 |
| 18- to 20-Year-Olds | 60 | 72 | 47 | 55 |
| **ST. PETERSBURG** | | | | |
| 12- to 14-Year-Olds | 69 | 72 | 60 | 57 |
| 15- to 17-Year-Olds | 78 | 78 | 67 | 65 |
| 18- to 20-Year-Olds | 81 | 82 | 77 | 76 |
| **SAVANNAH** | | | | |
| 12- to 14-Year-Olds | 56 | 64 | 59 | 60 |
| 15- to 17-Year-Olds | 61 | 64 | 70 | 68 |
| 18- to 20-Year-Olds | 66 | 61 | 73 | 69 |

## LEADERSHIP AND OUTCOMES

### Self-Efficacy

One of the primary reasons providing youth with an opportunity for leadership and decision-making is the potential for these experiences to increase youth's feeling of control over the things that happen in their lives. We were able to examine this relationship by comparing levels of self-efficacy for youth who have had varying amounts of leadership experience.

The mean level of self-efficacy varies significantly with the number of different leadership experiences youth report. Youth with no leadership experiences have the lowest level of self-efficacy (3.0 in St. Petersburg and Savannah, 2.8 in Austin). Having only one leadership experience does not seem to affect self-efficacy, but as the number of leadership experiences increases, so does self-efficacy. Thus, youth who report having had six different types of leadership roles have the highest mean self-efficacy—ranging from a low of 3.1 in Austin to 3.4 in Savannah.

We observed a similar pattern within each type of leadership examined. That is, youth with more formal leadership experiences have higher self-efficacy, as do those with more informal leadership experiences and those with more representation experiences. Similarly, youth who have ever been a class or student council officer, who have been a peer counselor or have participated in leadership training all have higher mean levels of self-efficacy than their counterparts who have not had these experiences.

Since these are cross-sectional data, we cannot tell whether participation in leadership experiences increases self-efficacy or whether youth with higher self-efficacy are more likely to take on leadership roles.

### Risk

Finally, we looked at whether having more leadership experiences is related to participation in risk behaviors. We found no systematic relationship. Looking across age groups and sites, we find inconsistencies in whether youth with leadership experience are more or less likely to be involved with risk behaviors. Thus, our conclusion from these data is that having leadership opportunities neither discourages nor encourages involvement with risky activity.

## VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This report has described the CCYD neighborhoods and the youth who live there at the time the initiative began. These are relatively poor (in comparison with the cities of which they are a part) Hispanic and African-American neighborhoods. According to 1990 Census data, the poverty rate was 40 percent in the Austin target area, 35 percent in Savannah and 23 percent in St. Petersburg. Among residents in the Austin site, 66 percent had less than a high school education. In the Savannah neighborhood, 43 percent of residents had less than a high school education, as did 39 percent in St. Petersburg. Nearly half the youth in St. Petersburg and Savannah (44% and 50%, respectively) live in single-parent households, while 25 percent of Austin youth live with only one parent. And across sites, between 40 and 50 percent of youth reside in households receiving public assistance.

In spite of their disadvantages, the youth survey presents a picture of neighborhoods in which many youth are productively engaged in school, work and structured after-school activities and who have sufficient adult support and leadership opportunities. As hypothesized, we observed strong relationships between youth's experience of these supports and opportunities and various outcomes. **Youth who are engaged in more activities, have more leadership experiences and more adult support also tend to have higher self-efficacy, better grades and be less involved in risk activity.**

We observed a positive relationship between participation in structured gap activities and self-efficacy and between activity participation and grades. That is, youth who were participating in more gap activities tended to have better grades and higher levels of self-efficacy. The relationship between structured activity participation and risk behavior, however, is less clear.

We also found strong relationships between levels of adult support and these outcomes, although the relationship varies across age groups and the type of adults providing support. Youth who receive more support from family, school and adults in youth organizations all have higher self-efficacy. The relationship is less strong among 18- to 20-year-olds than for younger youth. And support from adults in youth organizations appears to be particularly important among 15- to 17-year-olds.

Adult support is also positively related to grades. However, receiving support from adults at school and at youth organizations is more important than the support provided by family members. The youngest youth benefit from family support, but the level of support from family members is not related to the grades received by 15- to 17-year-olds. These middle adolescents benefit more from school and organizational support.

The level of adult support is negatively related to engagement in risk activity, but we did observe some differences across age groups. The lack of a relationship between support and risk behavior among 12- to 14-year-olds likely reflects both the low levels of risk activity in this age group and

the high levels of adult support reported. We did observe a tendency toward lower risk activity among 12- to 14-year-old youth who reported higher levels of support from adults at school.

The relationship between support and risk behavior is strongest among 15- to 17-year-olds, and as with grades, the support provided by adults at school and at youth organizations appears to be more important than the level of family support. In fact, many youth with high levels of family support actually engaged in more risk behavior than those with less support from family members. This may reflect some rebellion against parents perceived to be too involved in these adolescents' lives at a time when they are attempting to assert their independence.

As one might suppose, the data also reveal that not all youth are experiencing these supports and opportunities. First, with the exception of work experience—which increases with age—youth's involvement in or exposure to the opportunities and supports embodied in CCYD's core concepts declines with age. Older youth in these neighborhoods are less likely to be involved in structured activities during gap periods, less likely to have recent leadership experiences and are less likely to receive support from sufficient numbers of adults compared with the youngest age group within the CCYD target group.

As noted earlier, the fall-off in participation in gap activities may partially reflect declining school enrollment, where many structured activities take place. However, youth also reported less activity at youth organizations, which would not be related to school enrollment. Thus, this decline may reflect a change in interests, fewer activities designed for and targeted to this older age group, or both. To a large extent the lack of leadership experience among older adolescents is directly related to lower levels of participation in gap activities. Since leadership is often tied to participation in groups, clubs, teams and organizations, it is not surprising that older youth have fewer leadership opportunities, given the fall-off in participation in gap activities.

In addition, many of these same youth have low levels of adult support, yielding a small, but significant, group of youth who are disconnected. The percentage of youth who are not participating in any gap activities, have no recent leadership experiences and few supportive adults in their lives increases as these youth get older. Depending on the site and the source of adult support, between 5 and 15 percent of 12- to 14-year-olds fall into this disconnected and disengaged group. The number of disengaged youth increases to 10 to 20 percent of 15- to 17-year-olds, and between 20 and 40 percent of 18- to 20-year-olds.

Given the importance of receiving support from adults at youth organizations to prevent risk behavior among older youth, we focused our attention on youth with low levels of this type of support. We observed a steady increase in the number of youth who are disconnected across all three neighborhoods. (See Table 17.) While between 9 and 12 percent of the youngest youth fall into this group, the percentage increases to about 15 to 20 percent of 15- to 17-year-olds. And the numbers continue to grow as youth move into the oldest age group. In Savannah and St. Petersburg, 25 and 23 percent, respectively, of 18- to 20-year-olds are not participating in gap and

Table 17

## YOUTH WITH LOW LEVELS OF EXPERIENCES RELATED TO THE CORE CONCEPTS

| % of Youth | No Gap Participation, No Leadership Experiences and Low on Organizational Support | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | AUSTIN | ST. PETERSBURG | SAVANNAH |
| 12- to 14-Year-Olds | 12% | 9% | 12% |
| 15- to 17-Year-Olds | 19 | 16 | 14 |
| 18- to 20-Year-Olds | 34 | 25 | 23 |
| | No Gap Participation, No Leadership Experiences, Low on Organizational Support and Not Working | | |
| | AUSTIN | ST. PETERSBURG | SAVANNAH |
| 12- to 14-Year-Olds | 11% | 9% | 11% |
| 15- to 17-Year-Olds | 15 | 11 | 12 |
| 18- to 20-Year-Olds | 14 | 11 | 15 |

leadership activities and have low levels of adult support. In Austin, nearly 35 percent of 18- to 20-year-old youth fall into this group.

Even though the number of youth who are working increases with age, many of these disconnected youth are not working. Among the younger youth, more than 80 percent of those in this disconnected group are not working. While many of the 18- to 20-year-olds who are not engaged in other activities are working, substantial numbers are not. More than 40 percent of these disconnected 18- to 20-year-olds in Austin and St. Petersburg and almost 70 percent of those in Savannah, were not working at the time of the survey.

These data clearly demonstrate a drop-off in the supports and opportunities available to youth as they get older. This decline in support occurs simultaneously with an increase in involvement in negative activities, which could possibly be offset by efforts to provide youth with additional supports throughout their adolescent years. While it is important to assist these youth, particularly the oldest youth, with finding employment, their disconnection from positive activities clearly begins before they reach the age at which they might be employed full time. These youth represent a prime target for the CCYD effort in these neighborhoods.

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## APPENDIX A

## SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The youth survey was completed in the three CCYD research sites—Austin, Texas; St. Petersburg, Florida; and Savannah, Georgia. P/PV contracted with Macro International, Inc., to conduct a door-to-door in-person survey with youth aged 12 to 20.

The sample design for the survey was intended to result in a final sample of approximately 800 completed interviews with youth between the ages of 12 and 20 in each of the three target communities. The sample was to allow for analysis of the three age groups (12 to 14, 15 to 17 and 18 to 20) separately; thus, a minimum of 250 youth was expected to be interviewed in each age group.

The basic sampling strategy called for sampling every child in a selected household while setting a cap of three selected respondents per household to control for burden within each household. Procedures were established for reducing the probability of selecting respondents in certain age groups if their presence and participation rates seemed to be disproportionately high as the survey progressed.

Initial assumptions regarding the number of youth likely to reside in each of the target neighborhoods were based on 1990 U.S. Census data. Using these figures, we estimated that we would need to select approximately 50 percent of the households in Savannah and St. Petersburg and to conduct a census of households in Austin in order to complete the required number of interviews. As the survey progressed, however, it became clear that the 1990 Census figures overestimated the number of youth in the target age range to the extent that a census rather than a sample of households needed to be contacted in all three neighborhoods.

Table A-1 shows the expected number of households in each neighborhood based on 1990 Census data and the actual number of households in the final sampling frame. In St. Petersburg, the actual number of households was about 30 percent less than expected, while the sampling frames for Austin and Savannah were fairly close to expected.

The total number of actual "households" in the sampling frame for each site also included addresses that turned out to be businesses or nonexistent addresses (i.e., houses that have been demolished and are now vacant lots). In Savannah, for example, interviewers were unable to locate 544 households that were presumed to have been demolished between the time of the 1990 Census and the CCYD survey. Across the three sites about 6 percent of addresses were businesses and about 7 percent were nonexistent. In addition, interviewers discovered that about 10 percent of households were vacant during the survey period. After eliminating these addresses from the sampling frame, the total number of occupied households was considerably fewer than the initial number of households found. (See Table A-2.)

Table A-1

HOUSEHOLDS IN SAMPLING FRAME

| | AUSTIN | ST. PETERSBURG | SAVANNAH |
|---|---|---|---|
| Expected number of households | 2662 | 4780 | 3763 |
| Actual number of households in sample | 2454 | 3331 | 3769 |
| Variance (%) | 208 fewer HH (8%) | 1449 fewer HH (30%) | 6 more HH (LT 1%) |

Table A-2

NUMBER OF OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS (HH)

| | AUSTIN | ST. PETERSBURG | SAVANNAH |
|---|---|---|---|
| Number of occupied HH | 1760 | 2823 | 2225 |
| Number of occupied HH with eligible youth (%) | 446 (25%) | 790 (28%) | 617 (28%) |
| Number of screeners not resolved | 93 | 164 | 282 |

Across the three sites, between 25 and 28 percent of occupied households included youth between the ages of 12 and 20 who were eligible to participate in the survey. Each community also included a number of households for which interviewers were not able to determine whether they included eligible youth before the field period ended ("screeners not resolved" in the table).

In addition to finding fewer households than expected based on Census figures, the number of eligible youth identified was lower than Census figures. And further, the number of youth in the oldest age group was lower than in the other two age groups, which is contrary to what was expected on the basis of the Census data, which showed the highest concentrations in the oldest age group for both Austin and St. Petersburg. All of these factors combined to require conducting a census of households in all three sites in order to attain the targeted number of interviews.

Table A-3

RESPONSE RATES

| | AUSTIN | ST. PETERSBURG | SAVANNAH |
|---|---|---|---|
| Youth identified | 752 | 1180 | 993 |
| Youth selected | 744 | 1067 | 939 |
| Completed interview (%) | 645 (87%) | 998 (94%) | 872 (93%) |
| Adult refusal (%) | 23 (3%) | 10 (1%) | 10 (1%) |
| Youth refusal | 55 (7%) | 22 (2%) | 11 (1%) |

We achieved the target of 800 completed interviews in two of the three sites. In Austin, despite a census of households and a census of youth within households (i.e., we removed the cap of three respondents per household), the sample fell short of the targeted 800 interviews, and only in the youngest age group were 250 interviews completed. In St. Petersburg, the target of 800 interviews was achieved, but the number of interviews in the oldest age group fell short of the minimum target by 22 interviews. In Savannah, the overall target of 800 interviews was achieved and at least 250 interviews were completed with youth in each of the three age groups.

Although interviewers identified fewer youth than expected, the sample should be considered highly representative of youth in all three sites since nearly all identified youth were interviewed. (For sampling reasons, some identified youth were not asked to complete an interview.) With some variation across the three sites, among youth who were selected to participate, the overall completion rate was 91 percent. The combined adult and youth refusal rate was 5 percent. Interviewers were unable to schedule and complete an interview with the remaining 4 percent of youth prior to the end of data collection.

## APPENDIX B

## QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

Questions that were used to measure the various constructs discussed in the text are presented below.

### STRUCTURED GAP ACTIVITIES

For each activity we asked whether they had ever done it. If they responded yes, then we asked how often in the past four weeks? Response categories: Not at all, Once or twice, Three or four times, A few times a week, Every day or almost every day. Recent participation was coded as having done the activity at least once during the preceding four weeks. The questions asked were:

- Have you ever played on or coached a school or league sports team?
- Have you ever participated in other after-school activities at school such as band, drama, clubs, yearbook or arts?
- Have you ever gone to a local youth or recreation center? For example, a YMCA or a Boys and Girls Club?
- Have you ever done something with a group of youth from a church, temple or mosque? For example, youth groups, choir, Bible study or field trips?

### TIME USE

Youth were asked a series of questions to provide an overview of how they spent their time for the most recent weekday and the most recent weekend day prior to the interview. From the time youth woke up in the morning until they went to bed at night they were asked the following questions about activities at each place they spent time during the day:

All questions were asked using an open-ended format; a sample of pre-coded response possibilities are included in parentheses below.

- Where they were (including such places as home, friend's home, school, recreation centers, parks, church, shopping center or mall, on the street, in transit).
- Whether the place was inside or outside their neighborhood (the target area for CCYD).
- The number of adults present if they were at home or someone else's home.
- What they did (eating various meals, attending school, attending work, caring for children, doing household chores, homework, reading, watching TV, hanging out, playing organized sports, riding a bus, driving a car, informal sports, going to the movies, shopping).
- What time they began and finished each activity.

- Who they did the activity with (alone, with friends, with parents, with siblings, with other adults).
- Whether there was an adult organizer or facilitator present during the activity.

For the analysis discussed in this report, we focused on location, activity, the amount of time and who they did the activity with. Because youth were asked to report on time periods no smaller than 30 minutes, some reported multiple activities within a given time period. We coded up to three activities and then divided the total time for that time period among the two or three activities in calculating the total amount of time youth spent in various activities throughout the day. For example, the first time period of the day for many youth included three activities: showering, eating breakfast and watching TV. If the particular time period for these three activities was 45 minutes, we allocated 15 minutes to each in estimating the total amount of time youth spent in these activities.

WORK AS A DEVELOPMENTAL TOOL

We asked the following questions about their work and community service experience.

Employment

- Not counting jobs around the house, have you ever worked for pay, such as doing errands or chores for neighbors, babysitting, paper route, or working in a restaurant or youth program or somewhere else?
- Are you currently working at a job for pay, either full-time or part-time?
- What kind of work do you do?
- How many hours per week do you usually work at this job?
- How much do you usually get paid?
- Did you have any jobs for pay before your current one?

Community Service

- Have you ever been involved in any type of community service or volunteer work? For example, participating in block clean-ups or park clean-ups, helping in a shelter, or visiting or making things for people?
- Are you currently involved in any type of community service or volunteer work?

Job Features

Youth who were currently working for pay and/or currently involved in community service were asked questions about the benefits—intrinsic satisfaction, self-direction, job skills—they derive from these positions.

- **Intrinsic Work Satisfaction** was measured by the following items. Response categories: Very True, Somewhat True, Somewhat Untrue, Completely Untrue.

  - My job (my volunteer work) gives me a chance to learn a lot of new things.
  - My job uses my skills and abilities.
  - The things I am learning in my job will be useful to me in my later life.
  - My work involves doing the same thing in the same way again and again.
  - I have to figure out how to do things or solve problems on my job.
  - My work involves doing a number of different things.

- **Self-Direction** was measured by the following two questions:

  - How much control do you have over the way you spend your time at work? (Complete control, A lot of control, Some control, Almost no control.)
  - Overall, how much freedom to you have to make important decisions about what you do at work and how you do it? (Complete freedom, A lot of freedom, Some freedom, Almost no freedom.)

- **Job Skills** were measured by the following items. Response categories: A great deal, Somewhat, Only a little, Not at all.

  - How much has your job helped your ability to follow directions?
  - How much has your job helped your ability to get along with people?
  - How much has it helped your ability to be on time?
  - How much has it helped your ability to take responsibility for your work?
  - How much has it helped your ability to manage your money?

TRANSITIONS

Switching Schools

- Have you received any help or guidance about switching from middle or junior high school to high school? No, never switched; No, no guidance; Yes.
  - If yes, where did you receive this help or guidance? In-school guidance counselor, teacher or class; Out-of-school program; Informal help (friends/family); Other

Employment-Related Transition Activities

- Have you ever visited a workplace, other than with your parent, for half a day or a day to see what people there do?
- Have you ever participated in an internship?
- Have you ever been part of a career academy at school or any other school-to-work program?
- Have you ever been enrolled in a vocational program or taken classes that lead to a vocational certificate?
- Have you attended any classes or special events at school or elsewhere about different careers in the past 12 months?

Discussing Future Plans with Adults

- Have you spoken with any adults in the past 12 months about what career you might want to have in the future?
- Have you spoken with any adults in the past 12 months about how you could get a job?
- Have you spoken with any adults in the past 12 months about going to college and college applications?
- Have you spoken with any adults in the past 12 months about attending a technical or trade school?

Getting Information About Future Options

- Do you feel you can get as much information as you need about jobs?
- Do you feel you can get as much information as you need about college?
- Do you feel you can get as much information as you need about vocational training?
- Do you feel you can get as much information as you need about jobs in the military?

ADULT SUPPORT AND GUIDANCE

Identical questions were asked about the number of adults from four domains who provide youth with various types of support. We asked about family, school, youth organizations and neighborhoods. (Response Categories: None, Only one, Two or three, More than three.)

Emotional Support

How many adults . . .

- Pay attention to what's going on in your life?
- Get on your case if you mess up or make a mistake?
- Say something nice when you do something good?
- Could you go to if you are really upset or mad about something?

Instrumental Support

How many adults . . .

- Could you go to for help in an emergency?
- Could you go to if need some advice about personal problems, like a problem with a boyfriend or a girlfriend?
- Could you go to if you felt physically threatened? For example, is someone was going to hit you or beat you up?
- Could you go to for help with schoolwork?

Satisfaction With the Number of Adults in Their Lives

For each of the following we asked: Which group sounds more like you?

- Some teens have enough adults with whom they can talk and get advice, but
  Other teens would like to have more adults with whom they could talk and get advice.

- Some teens don't have very many adults who care about them, but
  Other teens have a lot of adults who care about them.

- Some kids wish they had more adults with whom they liked to do things, but
  Other kids have enough adults with whom they like to do things.

Adult Monitoring

(Response categories: Very likely, Somewhat likely, Somewhat unlikely, Very unlikely)

- If a neighbor noticed some kids painting graffiti or making trouble, how likely is it that they would try to do something, like try to stop them or call the police about it?
- If someone were breaking into your house in plain sight, how likely is it that one of your neighbors would do something about it?
- If someone were trying to sell drugs to a teenager in plain sight, how likely is it that one of your neighbors would do something about it?
- If someone was fighting on your street, how likely is it that one of your neighbors would do something about it?

- How many adults on your block know your name? (All, Most, A few, None)
- How many adults on your block know where you live?
- How many adults on your block know who your parent(s)/guardian(s) is/are?
- How many adults on your block would tell your parent(s)/guardian(s) if you were doing something wrong?

YOUTH INVOLVEMENT AND LEADERSHIP

- Have you ever been a class officer or served on a student council at school?
- Have you ever served as a peer counselor or peer mediator at school?
- Have you ever participated in a leadership training program?

Formal Leadership

- Have you ever been a team captain? If yes, how many times in the past 12 months?
- Have you ever coached a team? If yes, how many times in the past 12 months?
- Have you ever been a group or club leader or officer? If yes, how many times in the past 12 months?

Informal Leadership

- Have you ever helped plan activities or events for any of the groups or clubs you talked about earlier? If yes, how many times in the past 12 months?
- Have you ever helped set rules or procedures for any of the groups or clubs you talked about earlier? If yes, how many times in the past 12 months?
- Have you ever been in charge of supplies or equipment for any of the groups or clubs you talked about earlier? If yes, how many times in the past 12 months?

Representation

- Have you ever helped raise money for any of the groups or clubs you talked about earlier? If yes, how many times in the past 12 months?
- Have you ever given a presentation or represented a group, team or club at an outside event or meeting? If yes, how many times in the past 12 months?

Satisfaction With the Number of Peers in Their Lives

For each of the following we asked: Which group sounds more like you?

- Some kids would like to have a lot more friends, but
  Other kids have as many friends as they want.

- Some teens feel there are enough kids with whom they can talk and get advice, but
  Other teens would like to have more kids with whom they could talk and get advice.

- Some kids wish that more people their age liked them, but
  Other kids feel that most people their age do like them.

- Some teens feel there are enough kids with whom they like to do things, but
  Other teens wish there were more kids with whom they like to do things.

SELF-EFFICACY

Self-efficacy was measured by combining the following items into a 4-point scale. (Response categories: Strongly agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly disagree.)

- When I make plans, I am sure I can make them work. (R)
- One of my problems is that I cannot get down to work when I should.
- If I can't do a job the first time, I keep trying until I can. (R)
- When I set important goals for myself, I almost never achieve them.
- I give up on things before finishing them.
- I avoid facing problems.
- If something looks too hard, I will not even bother to try it.
- When I have something unpleasant to do, I stick to it until I finish it. (R)
- When I try to learn something new, I give up if I'm not successful at first.
- I handle unexpected problems very well. (R)
- When things look too hard, I don't try to learn them.
- Failure just makes me try harder. (R)
- I am unsure about my ability to do things.
- I can depend on myself. (R)
- I give up easily.
- I do not seem able to deal with most problems that come up.

RISK BEHAVIORS

A composite measure of recent risk behavior was created by combining whether youth had drunk alcohol, used marijuana or other drugs, been arrested, and carried a weapon at least once during the previous 12 months and whether they had had sexual intercourse within the previous three months. The resulting measure ranged from 0 (they had done none of these things during this time period) to 5 (they had done each of these things at lease once during this time period).